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The Knights of Labor, Politics, and Populism

I

The tradition of labor participation in politics in the United States has long been an underlying *motif* in the history of the working class. The extension of the suffrage following the American Revolution made it natural for labor to regard political action with a favored eye, especially because more direct weapons such as the strike did not produce many notable victories. In the ante-bellum period the right of government—state and national—to regulate the economy was accepted by many. The limitations placed by the Manchester School of liberals during the nineteenth century upon government intervention in economic life had never been fully accepted by even its most ardent advocates. Even after the Civil War, when *laissez faire* became the dominant keynote in economic theory, there were many who dissented from the majority view.¹ With government playing an important role in economic affairs, labor continued its efforts to influence policy through political activity.

Most native-American leaders, therefore, had grown to maturity at a time when powerful and active government, especially on the state level, was the rule rather than the exception, and the tradition of strong government left a visible imprint upon their labor philosophy. This was as true for the leaders of the 1860's, like William H. Sylvius, as for later ones, like Uriah S. Stephens and Terence V. Powderly. The ballot, then, came to be accepted as a legitimate means of securing favorable legislation.

¹ Sidney Fine, *Laissez Faire and the General-Welfare State: A Study of Conflict in American Thought 1865-1901*, Ann Arbor, 1956, 18-23, 29-31, et passim.

More often than not, however, attempts to forge a working class united in politics concluded in failure. An important cause for this failure was the fact that many workers refused to accept the permanency of their wage status and instead identified themselves with the middle class and its periodic antimonopoly campaigns. Thus it happened that the labor movement of the 1880's was afflicted with a peculiar duality of character. Traditionally the workers had regarded themselves as the producers and the only legitimate group in society. The rapid advance of industrialism, however, had reduced them to a position of dependence upon the owners of the means of production. Yet their thinking was still predicated upon the assumption that their independent position could somehow be restored, and hence they refused to accept the permanency of the capitalistic system. At the same time, nevertheless, they struggled for increased benefits within the framework of their environment, thus implicitly acknowledging the permanency of their wage status. This duality made unanimity on specific issues difficult to achieve, especially since the workers persisted in retaining a middle class viewpoint. While all labor leaders might agree upon the necessity of labor political action, they could not come to terms on aims and objectives.

There were also other forces responsible for the ineffectiveness of labor political action. For one thing, there was the impelling force of party loyalty, which played an important role because of the absence of an authentic class consciousness. For another, the rising tide of immigration placed additional barriers in the way of successful political action. Many immigrants, because of their non-political background, were unable to participate in politics independent of the major parties, while intellectuals migrating to the United States rarely understood American traditions and had an outlook derived from experience in feudal and stratified societies. In the third place, since the working class alone never constituted a majority of the population, it had to seek alliances with other groups, especially the farmers. But differing economic interests often made any farmer-labor coalition a relatively ephemeral one. Fourthly, the grandiose plans of labor reformers frightened many nonworkers who were willing to support legislative reforms on behalf of the working class but who were decidedly unwilling to endorse programs looking toward the abolition of private property. Finally, a relative scarcity of labor together with a rapidly expanding economy provided the workers with opportunity for advancement.

Thus the favorable economic environment acted, at least in part, as a safety valve.

All of these factors contributed to labor's inability to participate successfully in politics between 1828 and 1873. Yet the negative experiences of these years merely gave added force to labor's determination to use the machinery of government to serve its ends. The organization of the Knights of Labor on the national level in 1878 strengthened the advocates of political action, for this was the time that the agitation that culminated in the formation of the Greenback-Labor Party in February 1878 was at its height. By 1878 many labor leaders were participating in politics under the aegis of the new party, and Ralph Beaumont and Uriah S. Stephens represented the Order of the Knights of Labor at the national Greenback-Labor convention in February 1878.

Despite such promising beginnings, however, the connection between the Knights and Greenbackers never grew into an effective working alliance. For this fact Stephens, first Master Workman of the Order, was largely responsible, for he did not regard the Knights as a political organization. The Order, asserted Stephens, "ought to be the teacher of political economy in its true sense, and thus give birth to political parties and issues."² Nevertheless, he did not refuse the Greenback-Labor nomination in the Fifth Congressional District in Philadelphia in 1878.³

While Stephens was responsible for the failure of the Knights to affiliate with the Greenback-Labor Party, Powderly laid the foundation for the future political policy of the Order. As Master Workman for more than fifteen years, he exerted great influence over the formulation and adoption of policy.⁴ Between 1878 and 1882 Powderly was active in Pennsylvania politics under the Greenback banner. But aware of the danger of introducing politics into labor organizations, he maintained that no man could be forced to vote for a particular candidate or party, for the objective of the Knights was to educate both men and parties. At the same time, he recommended support of candidates who were members of the Order.⁵

² Stephens to Richard Griffiths, November 15, 1878, reprinted in *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (February 12, 1891), 2. See also Stephens to Joseph Cowell, November 25, 1878, Powderly Letter Books, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

³ *Journal of United Labor*, II (August 15, 1881), 138.

⁴ See Gerald N. Grob, "Terence V. Powderly and the Knights of Labor," *MID-AMERICA*, XXXIX (January 1957), 39-55.

⁵ Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1880, 258; George E. McNeill, ed., *The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-day*, Boston, 1887, 417-418.

Powderly's interest in political action reflected his constituents' hopes of improving their condition through the enactment of beneficial legislation. In 1879, for example, the highest governing body of the Knights—the General Assembly—approved a resolution authorizing local assemblies to take political action that would enhance the interests of the membership.⁶ A few months later, however, the Assembly imposed certain limitations on political activities in order to minimize the danger of internal dissension.⁷

In the years following 1880 the attitude of the Knights toward politics underwent virtually a complete metamorphosis, and the close relationship with the Greenback-Labor Party was dissolved. This transformation was largely a result of the actions of the Greenback-Labor movement in Pennsylvania, and its disillusioning influence upon Powderly and other leaders. Convinced that the party had cheated him out of a seat in Congress, Powderly momentarily withdrew from politics, bringing the Knights along with him.⁸ Consequently, all attempts to force the General Assembly to adopt a more vigorous political policy were defeated.⁹

Between 1882 and 1885 the complexities of expansion and the persistence of strikes overshadowed the Order's political activities. Its leaders found themselves immersed in administrative details and problems arising from rapid growth. The rank and file, however, was still working through normal party channels and electing members to legislative bodies, especially on the local and state levels. Throughout the more populous urban areas of the industrial Northeast labor attempted to use its influence and insure the election of candidates favorable to its interests.¹⁰ Often labor worked through one of the major parties; in other cases it selected its own candidates.¹¹ In isolated cases working class political activity was

⁶ Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, January 1879, 57, 67.

⁷ Assemblies were granted permission to enter politics and support that party willing to endorse its demands. But the matter could be taken under consideration only when the regular meeting of the group had been formally closed. Moreover, assemblies could engage in politics only if three-quarters of the members present approved; even then, no members could be compelled to vote as the majority dictated. *Ibid.*, September 1879, 120, 130.

⁸ See Powderly to Joseph Labadie, November 13, 1882, Powderly Letter Books; Edward T. James, "American Labor and Political Action, 1865-1896: The Knights of Labor and its Predecessors," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, 1954, 189, 199-200.

⁹ Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1880, 192, 194, 229, 232; 1881, 287, 295, 307, 309; 1883, 445, 508.

¹⁰ See, for example, John Swinton's *Paper*, October 21, November 4, 1883.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, November 11, 1883.

highly successful. For example, the Knights in 1884 claimed to have nineteen representatives and senators in the Michigan legislature.¹²

Despite some relatively minor and isolated victories, the political activities of local and district assemblies were not notably successful. Purely labor candidates could rarely attract a significant percentage of the vote, and when individual members were elected with major party support, it was often more a victory for the party than the Knights. In New York City in 1883 labor elected only two out of eight assemblymen, and even these two victories required party support.¹³ In Philadelphia a labor ticket in 1885 received only 500 votes.¹⁴ It was clear that discussions concerning fair and equitable legislation was one thing; to elect men favorably disposed toward their passage was another.

How many wage-workers were elected to congress or State legislatures? [complained a leading trade union journal] In the large cities *nobody else* ought to have been elected. Labor can stand by its trade unions, but when it comes into a political fight it throws away its arms and surrenders to the fiction of a "party." It is our parties that divide us, and gives us to the common enemy. There seems to be no hope through political action.¹⁵

In legislature after legislature labor found its voice unheeded, its bills defeated or else pigeon-holed in committee. At the state capitals of Maine, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Missouri, and Michigan bills regulating the hours of women and children failed of passage.¹⁶ At every turn the working class found its political efforts frustrated.

II

The unparalleled growth of the Knights in the 1880's, however, soon placed an important and perhaps more effective technique in the hands of its leaders—to use the potential political strength of a numerically powerful organization as a lever with which to compel the passage of favorable legislation. The passage of the first Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882, in which the Knights had taken a

¹² *Iron Molders' Journal*, XX (November 30, 1884), 13. For other successes see *Journal of United Labor*, III (December 1882), 369; VI (May 10, 1885), 982; Michigan Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics, *Annual Report*, I (1884), 71; *John Swinton's Paper*, April 6, 1884.

¹³ *John Swinton's Paper*, November 11, 1883.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, March 1, 1885.

¹⁵ *The Carpenter*, III (April 1883), 3.

¹⁶ *John Swinton's Paper*, April 26, 1885.

prominent though perhaps not a decisive hand, stimulated the belief that labor's interests could be served best through a process of bargaining with the established political parties.

The first real effort by the Knights to compel Congress to enact favorable legislation occurred in 1884. The previous year the window glass manufacturers had attempted to import foreign workmen in an attempt to destroy Window Glass Workers Local Assembly 300. The members of Local Assembly 300, in turn, were advised by their lawyer to seek federal passage of a law that would outlaw such attempts. The General Assembly decided to support such legislation and instructed its officers to go to Washington to lobby for a bill outlawing the importation of foreign contract labor.¹⁷

A bill making illegal the importation of contract labor was introduced into the House at the beginning of 1884 by Martin A. Foran, former president of the Coopers International Union. At the hearings before the House Committee on Labor, Powderly and other officials argued for its passage. Petitions were circulated, and other labor organizations also sent representatives.¹⁸ Public meetings were also arranged, and Powderly issued a circular designed to spur workingmen to bring to bear their influence on the national legislature.¹⁹ Congress, however, adjourned while the bill was still pending in the Senate, the House having approved its passage.²⁰

During the remainder of 1884 the Knights continued to agitate for congressional action. When Congress reconvened Powderly wrote to the President of the Senate in an effort to force action.²¹ The bill was finally reported out of committee and became law in February 1885. Although the law did not provide effective means of enforcement, its passage testified to the growing political prominence of the Knights of Labor.

Victory in this pioneering lobbying effort caused the Knights to examine more closely the possibilities inherent in pressure-group tactics, and in the spring of 1886 the General Assembly authorized the creation of a special three-man committee to visit Congress

¹⁷ Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor. 1859 to 1889*, Columbus, Ohio, 1889, 442-443.

¹⁸ House Committee on Labor, 48 Congress 1st Session, *House Report 444*, Washington, D. C., 1884, 8-12.

¹⁹ *John Swinton's Paper*, January 13, April 6, 1884.

²⁰ Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, 445; *John Swinton's Paper*, July 13, 1884.

²¹ Powderly to George Edmunds, January 14, 1885, Powderly Letter Books.

and attempt to influence legislation, especially those measures dealing with land reform.²²

On June 11, 1886, Ralph Beaumont arrived in Washington to take his place as chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Knights. But the high hopes of the committee members were quickly and rudely shattered. The failure of the Southwest strike, the public statements of Jay Gould claiming that the backbone of the Knights had been broken, and press reports of internal dissension, all had given rise to rumors that the organization would disintegrate before the fall elections. Thus from the beginning the committee found itself operating under a severe handicap. To counteract these unfavorable impressions it decided to flood Congress with a series of petitions, some of which contained more than 300,000 signatures.²³ The committee, on the whole, directed its major energies toward securing congressional approval of a series of land reform measures.²⁴

While continuing his lobbying activities in Washington, Beaumont began at the same time a campaign to influence the congressional elections of 1886. The establishment of a congressional labor bloc, in his opinion, would strengthen his hand as a lobbyist. Powderly lent his approval and suggested concentrating on a few districts where the Order was strong. Maine was chosen for the test, but the results proved unfortunate as the individual marked for defeat won by an even larger than usual majority.²⁵

Beaumont's plan of rewarding friends and punishing enemies, however, did not win widespread acceptance. Instead local units of the Knights together with other labor organizations launched independent political tickets throughout the country. These activities were all a heritage of the emotional fervor of what has been termed the "Great Upheaval." At least twenty-six states were affected by independent political movements, and for a time it appeared as though labor was intent upon revolutionizing the structure of American politics. "We have a vast mass of material which we cannot print, showing the drift of the workers toward politics," John Swin-

²² Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1886 special session, 40-42. Powderly had suggested such a committee the previous year, but the General Assembly had not adopted his proposals. *Ibid.*, 1885, 15-16, 103, 134-135.

²³ *Ibid.*, 1886, 139.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 139-148. For Powderly's predilection for land reform see Powderly to J. G. Malcolm, December 3, 1882; Powderly to Thomas H. Dever, September 22, 1883, Powderly Letter Books.

²⁵ Powderly to Beaumont, July 27, 1886, Powderly Letter Books; James, "American Labor and Political Action," 278-287.

ton reported. "From California and Oregon to Maine and Massachusetts,—from Illinois and Michigan to Texas and Virginia, we have the news of this drift. All the various organizations appear to be moving under the same impulse."²⁶

What were the results of the intense political activities of the working class during the campaign of 1886? Undoubtedly the outcome of the New York City mayoralty campaign between Henry George, Abram Hewitt, and Theodore Roosevelt, were most impressive. George, with labor backing, succeeded in polling nearly 68,000 votes, as opposed to 90,000 for Hewitt and 60,000 for Roosevelt.²⁷ While the New York contest attracted the most publicity, labor's showing in other areas surpassed even the most sanguine predictions. In Chicago the vote of the United Labor Party reached nearly 25,000, and it elected seven members to the Assembly and one to the Senate in Springfield, five judges, and fell short of electing a congressman by only sixty-four votes.²⁸ In Milwaukee the People's Party polled more votes than the Democrats and Republicans combined, carrying the whole county ticket and electing the labor candidate for Congress. Although failing to elect the governor, the labor slate in Wisconsin polled between 25,000 and 30,000 votes.²⁹ Municipal labor tickets won out in Lynn, Massachusetts, Rutland, Vermont, Nangatuck and South Norwalk, Connecticut, Key West, Florida, and Richmond, Virginia. In localities in Colorado, Illinois, New Jersey, Kentucky, and Missouri, the workmen made their presence felt. Labor made its poorest showing in the South and, with the single exception of the Sixth Congressional District of Virginia where the Order's candidate was elected, could claim few victories in this section. Aside from the independent labor parties, many workers also ran as Democrats or Republicans. Martin A. Foran in Ohio and B. F. Shively in Indiana, for example, were sent to Congress as Democrats, and in Massachusetts

²⁶ John Swinton's *Paper*, August 8, 1886.

²⁷ In this campaign Powderly made a significant departure from nonpartisanship when he consented to make a speech favoring George's election. This was only a temporary aberration, however, for Powderly spoke because of his desire to see labor make a strong showing and to nullify Democratic charges that he was opposed to George. See Powderly to Lewis Ross, F. A. Herwig, and James Macmullen, December 20, 1886, Powderly Letter Books; *Workingmen, Read! What Your Leaders Said About Henry George*, n.p., n.d., Henry George Collection, New York Public Library; Powderly, *Thirty Years of Labor*, 288-294. Following the New York mayoralty campaign, Powderly broke with George. See Powderly to Edward Enbody, October 11, 1888, Powderly Letter Books.

²⁸ Edward B. Mittelman, "Chicago Labor in Politics 1877-96," *Journal of Political Economy*, XXVIII (May 1920), 421.

²⁹ John Swinton's *Paper*, November 7, 1886.

Robert Howard, the acting head of District Assembly 30, was re-elected to the State Senate.³⁰

Labor's spectacular showing during the campaign of 1886 led to a concerted effort to transform the temporary labor parties into permanent organizations. On February 22, 1887, the National Industrial Union Conference met in Cincinnati and organized the National Union Labor Party. Although some members of the Knights attended, few of the 458 delegates were themselves workingmen, and all the members elected to the national executive committee were farmers. The platform, however, did endorse most of the labor demands of the preamble of the constitution of the Knights. In the Middle West labor organizations readily united with the new party, but in the East similar efforts were bitterly resisted by working class leaders.³¹

The organization of the National Union Labor Party, however, did not decrease working class absorption in independent political action. In the spring of 1887, for example, no less than seventy-three labor tickets, two thirds of which were in the Middle West, were in the field.³² In Milwaukee and at least nineteen other localities labor tickets swept to victory.³³ Within the ranks of organized labor hopes ran high. While Powderly adhered to his nonpartisan policy of refusing to permit the Order to become involved with the National Union Labor Party,³⁴ Charles H. Litchman wrote an enthusiastic editorial for the Order's official publication about the potentialities of labor political action.³⁵

Despite the high hopes of many labor leaders, the fall elections of 1887 demonstrated that the political agitation aroused by the Great Upheaval had passed its peak and was subsiding. Lack of unity and internal dissension further contributed to the decline in labor's political activities. Indeed, the presidential campaign the following year merely accentuated the decline of the efforts of the Knights in the political arena, for many members were openly taking sides. On August 25, 1888, Litchman, then secretary of the Knights, resigned to campaign for Harrison and a high tariff.³⁶ Circum-

³⁰ John R. Commons, ed., *History of Labour in the United States*, 4 vols., New York, 1918-1935, II, 463; *John Swinton's Paper*, November 7, 1886.

³¹ *John Swinton's Paper*, February 27, 1887; Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 464-465.

³² James, "American Labor and Political Action," 336-337.

³³ Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 466.

³⁴ *Journal of United Labor*, VII (February 5, 1887), 2276.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, VII (April 16, 1887), 2356.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, IX (September 6, 1888), 2693; Powderly to John W. Hayes, September 7, 1888, Powderly-Hayes Correspondence, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.

stancial evidence warrants the conclusion that the Republicans made a deal with Litchman, who received a berth in the Treasury Department after the election. Local Assembly 300 made substantial contributions to the campaign fund of the Republican Party, and Indiana assemblies of the Knights openly supported Harrison. Many members, on the other hand, either backed Cleveland or else worked through one of the independent labor parties in this area.

While numerous assemblies of the Knights were supporting either Harrison or Cleveland, Powderly outwardly maintained his nonpartisan attitude. He still hoped that the political activities of the Order would be confined to legislative lobbying and not third party action.³⁷ Powderly also rebuffed Republican attempts to utilize a speech he made in 1883 favoring a high tariff, explaining that although he believed in tariff protection, he also believed it was not a proper issue for the Knights to act upon.³⁸ Yet while denying that he was a candidate for political office, Powderly engaged in secret political negotiations with both major parties in the fall and summer of 1888. That he did not support either candidate did not so much attest to adherence to principle as it did to the fact that no offer was sufficiently tempting to make him renounce his nonpartisanship.³⁹

The results of the presidential campaign of 1888 proved discouraging. While some victories were achieved on the state level, there was only disaster on the national level, and every pro-labor member of Congress was defeated.⁴⁰ "Never in the history of American civilization did the wageworker have a better opportunity to display his intelligence in the use of the elective franchise," the official journal of the Knights remarked, "and never did he make a poorer use of it than on that occasion. . . . Labor's friends have been defeated on every side by Labor's foes."⁴¹ Aside from a major

³⁷ *Journal of United Labor*, VIII (May 5, 1888), 2622. See also *ibid.*, IX (August 16, 1888), 2681.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, IX (August 16, 1888), 2681; (September 13, 1888), 2697. For Powderly's attitude toward the tariff see Powderly to Edward H. Ammidown, July 24, 1886; Powderly to E. W. Pierce, November 22, 1886; Powderly to W. A. Karr, December 12, 1886, Powderly Letter Books.

³⁹ Litchman indirectly attacked Powderly's course. "I hold it more honorable to lay down official duties that would hamper private action than to retain such position and at the same time be engaged in political scheming in secret with the party agents whom it is necessary ostensibly to publicly denounce." Litchman to Powderly, August 29, 1888, *Journal of United Labor*, IX (September 6, 1888), 2693. The *National Labor Tribune* echoed Litchman's charge. *National Labor Tribune*, September 8, 1888; *Journal of United Labor*, IX (September 13, 1888), 2698. See also James, "American Labor and Political Action," 433.

⁴⁰ Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1889, Report of the National Legislative Committee, 2.

⁴¹ *Journal of United Labor*, IX (November 15, 1888), 2734.

political defeat, many assemblies were disrupted because of internal political rivalries, and the General Executive Board of the Knights advanced the claim that the partisan political activities of several of its officers during the presidential campaign cost the Order no less than 100,000 members.⁴² Thus ended the political agitation inspired by the Great Upheaval.

Why, then, did all of this political enthusiasm produce so few results? In the first place, conditions between 1886 and 1888 did not warrant the optimistic hopes held by many labor leaders. American workingmen obviously were not hostile toward political action, provided that such action produce concrete and immediate benefits. Yet after two years of intense political strife workingmen found that their efforts had resulted in more harm than good. When labor's votes had been uncommitted, the major parties evinced much more readiness to consider its grievances. Hence the anticontract labor bill was able to receive favorable consideration by Congress in 1885. When labor committed its forces to a particular party or individual, however, it could no longer threaten to use its influence against its enemies. The commitment of its forces thus had eroded the foundation upon which its bargaining position depended.

Secondly, independent political action was predicated upon the conviction that the working class could be united behind a common political program and party. Yet the facts did not warrant such an optimistic assumption. The experiences of the National Legislative Committee of the Knights, for example, were not unique. Launched at the height of the Great Upheaval, the committee members soon found that it did not command the allegiance of the men it purported to represent in Washington. "[We are] of the opinion that the rank and file of the Order do not take as much interest in the question of legislation as they ought to," the committee reported to the General Assembly in 1889. "We feel that the efforts of a committee at the capital are powerless if they do not have the active support of the Order by petition and also by votes at election times."⁴³

In the third place, the process of building a cohesive and powerful labor party was slow and arduous. The years between 1828 and 1873 had witnessed many working class political crusades, but all had failed to live up to their expectations. Workingmen, on the other hand, supported independent political movements to the degree that they coincided with their interests, and when these

⁴² Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 469.

⁴³ Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly, 1889, Report of the National Legislative Committee*, 3-4.

movements failed to bring the anticipated relief, the workers quickly abandoned their still-born progeny.

Finally, the political background of the working class militated against the success of independent political action, for individuals, conditioned by strong party ties that were the habit of years, could not so easily abandon their traditional allegiance. Many members of the Knights recognized this omnipresent danger and warned against partisan action. Even before the Knights embarked upon a political crusade, one leader sounded a note of caution. "Wherever we have allowed political action as a body," he warned, "it has worked us an injury, and put the growth of the Order at a stand-still, and breeds dissension and hard feelings in the Assemblies when peace and harmony should prevail."⁴⁴

III

The failure of independent political action, however, did not remove the Knights from politics. Instead the political energies of the Knights were channeled into a different direction. Beginning in the mid-1880's the Order moved slowly but steadily toward forging an alliance with the farmer. The moment appeared propitious for such a coalition. The mechanization of agriculture had forced the farmer into a difficult position. Caught between decreasing farm prices, an ever-increasing surplus, and relatively high costs of transportation, the nation's farmers were in revolt against their depressed condition by the 1880's. With the continued existence of grievances in farm and labor groups, it was only natural that attempts would be made for union on a program of mutual relief.

Circumstances augured well for the success of the movement. To begin with, the rural element had always been numerically strong in the Knights, and after 1886 they gained proportionately in strength and provided a strong impetus for a farmer-labor coalition. In the second place, the Order's leaders were wedded to the concept of a fluid society lacking in class distinctions, and they thought in terms of a community of interests between farmers and workers. The fact that both were producers lent credence to this belief. Thirdly, its growing preoccupation with land reform led the Knights to gravitate toward the farmer as a possible source of additional strength. In the fourth place, Powderly himself gave strong support to the proposal for such an alliance. Although maintaining

⁴⁴ *Journal of United Labor*, V (July 10, 1884), 740. See also *ibid.*, VII (June 11, 1887), 2422.

his nonpartisan political attitude, he assumed that workers and farmers could unite behind a common program, using their combined political strength as an irresistible lobby.⁴⁵ Finally, there was the fact that Populism and labor reformism had sprung from the same womb. Both were descended from the equal rights and antimonopoly movements of the 1830's; both had been nourished upon the monetary reform schemes in vogue between 1840 and 1880; and both had supported various co-operative undertakings.⁴⁶

There had been sporadic attempts at union between farm and labor groups, but the campaign that would succeed began in 1885 when the General Assembly of the Knights referred a resolution to the General Executive Board advocating the establishment of closer relations with the farmer so as to enhance the political bargaining position of both groups.⁴⁷ In the spring of 1886 the Assembly went further and sent a hopeful communication to the National Grange, and the following year appointed a committee on fraternal relations with the Patrons of Husbandry.⁴⁸ The immediate upshot of the ensuing negotiations was that each organization should maintain a lobbying committee in Washington "who shall consult and confer together, with the view of securing such legislation as will conduce to the interest and welfare of both organizations."⁴⁹

By 1889 relations between the Knights and the farmers had passed beyond exchanges of greetings and promises to work together in harmony. The General Assembly meeting in that year appointed a Committee on Mortgage Debtors as a concession to the agrarians. The committee, in turn, pledged the Order to work for revision in the foreclosure laws of the various states. Although it did not specifically single out the farmer, the committee's report obviously was a concession to the farm element. Following the

⁴⁵ *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, X (April 24, 1890), 1; (May 1, 1890), 1. Powderly's belief in land reform made him receptive to the idea of a farmer-labor coalition. This coalition, he believed, would function best as a lobby and not as a political party. Powderly, as we will see, was not an ardent supporter of the People's Party and continued to proclaim his unbroken nonpartisanship between 1889 and 1892.

⁴⁶ See Chester M. Destler, *American Radicalism 1865-1901*, New London, Connecticut, 1946, Chap. 1.

⁴⁷ *Knights of Labor, Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1885, 100, 106, 135. For evidence of earlier farmer-labor collaboration on the state and regional level see Eugene Staley, *History of the Illinois State Federation of Labor*, Chicago, 1930, 28; John Swinton's *Paper*, February 4, April 6, 1884, August 30, November 29, 1885; *The Craftsman*, II (September 5, 1885), 2, (September 19, 1885), 2.

⁴⁸ *Knights of Labor, Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1886 special session, 70; 1887, 1637.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1887, 1792.

adoption of this report by the General Assembly, the delegates listened to addresses by a committee from the Farmers Alliance of Georgia. Expressing optimistic hopes for farmer-labor co-operation, the delegation bade the Knights send representatives to the November meeting of the Farmers' Alliance in St. Louis.⁵⁰

The growing *rapprochement* between the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights reflected developments on the local and state levels. The loss of thousands of members in the more industrialized regions of the East and Mid-West strengthened proportionately the rural elements in the Order. In many states members of the Knights began to meet with agrarian representatives to draw up a common platform. In South Dakota, New York, Kansas, Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Minnesota, Texas, and North Carolina local and district assemblies of the Knights worked in harmony and co-operated with farm organizations.⁵¹

Action on the national level came at the St. Louis farmers' convention in December 1889, where Powderly, Beaumont, and A. W. Wright spoke for the Knights and helped to prepare a platform for union, under which each group pledged itself to support only those candidates supporting farmer-labor demands. The platform included such diverse planks as the abolition of national banks and the substitution of legal-tender notes in the place of national bank currency, outlawing dealings in the future sale of commodities, the free and unlimited coinage of silver, prohibition of alien land ownership, land reform, an end to class legislation, governmental control and operation of the means of communication and transportation, and mutual recognition of all seals and labels.⁵² "Never before was the future so full of hope," sang the official journal of the Knights. "With fidelity to conviction, all we ever hoped for is now within our reach."⁵³

Although the St. Louis platform was heavily weighted in favor of the farmer, the General Assembly of the Knights approved it in November 1890. Moreover, the Assembly decided to send delegates to the meeting of the Farmers' Alliance at Ocala, Florida, to

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 1889, 73-76, 87-93.

⁵¹ *Journal of United Labor*, X (July 11, 1889), 1; (October 31, 1889), 1; *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, X (March 27, 1889), 2; (June 12, 1890), 1, 4; XI (July 10, 1890), 4; (August 21, 1890), 1; (November 27, 1890), 2; (April 2, 1891), 1; XII (July 16, 1891), 1; (October 8, 1891), 1; (May 5, 1892), 1; Ruth A. Allen, *Chapters in the History of Organized Labor in Texas*, Austin, 1941, 23-24.

⁵² *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, X (December 12, 1889), 1; (January 16, 1890), 1-3.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, X (December 12, 1889), 2.

arrange for the convening of a National Reform Industrial Convention to "formulate an independent political platform upon the principles of the preamble of the Knights of Labor, so that this order shall give its endorsement and support to that at the ballot box."⁵⁴

Meanwhile, the results of the congressional and state elections in the autumn of 1890 strengthened the proponents of an independent farmer-labor party. In Kansas, for example, the reform forces swept the state offices and elected a congressman and a senator. Similarly, in the Third Congressional District of Nebraska an Alliance candidate defeated his Democratic and Republican opponents. Tillman was elected governor of South Carolina, and in North Carolina and Georgia the reform coalition fared well.⁵⁵ Richard Trelvelick, a prominent Knight, claimed that the farmer-labor bloc could count on the support of fifty-two congressmen, twenty-three of whom were independents.⁵⁶

A few weeks after the election the Farmers' Alliance met at Ocala, Florida, and Powderly, Beaumont, and Wright again represented the Knights. The gratifying results of the election of 1890 had spurred the political enthusiasts to new efforts, and after a platform similar to the St. Louis one was adopted, the delegates called for another convention to meet in Cincinnati on February 23, 1891, to form a new national political party.⁵⁷ Powderly, however, had also issued a call for a National Reform Industrial Convention to meet on that date, and he and several Ocala delegates therefore agreed to have the farmers postpone the Cincinnati meeting until May.⁵⁸

In the interim between the Ocala convention and the meeting scheduled for Cincinnati in May 1891, Powderly, Hayes, and Wright met with representatives from the various farm organizations in Washington on January 21, 1891. Unwilling to abandon his non-partisanship and unhappy at the idea of turning the Knights into a

⁵⁴ Professor Perlman interprets this statement to mean that the Knights supported the formation of an independent political party. Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 493. Actually the General Assembly was simply endorsing a platform, and it indicated its willingness to support any party that endorsed this platform. Knights of Labor, *Proceedings of the General Assembly*, 1890, 63-64, 70-71.

⁵⁵ *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (November 13, 1890), 1; (November 20, 1890), 1; XI (February 5, 1891), 3; Commons, *History of Labour*, II, 492-493. For a full discussion of the election of 1890 see John D. Hicks, *The Populist Revolt*, Minneapolis, 1931, 153-185.

⁵⁶ *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XI (November 20, 1890), 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, XI (December 11, 1890), 1.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, XI (January 8, 1891), 1.

political party, Powderly tried desperately to hold back the political enthusiasts in the Order.⁵⁹ Nothing of importance, therefore, came out of the conference, except the indication that the Knights would not officially join any party.⁶⁰ While Powderly had succeeded in temporarily postponing any proposal to amalgamate the Knights with the Farmers' Alliance, his plan of calling a National Reform Industrial Convention to formulate a nonpartisan program also met with defeat. When only local assemblies of the Knights responded to Powderly's call, he was forced to call off the meeting scheduled for February 23.⁶¹

By the spring of 1891, therefore, a definite pattern had emerged. The farmers were still seeking to secure labor support for the People's Party, but only on their own terms. The Cincinnati convention meeting in May, for example, laid the groundwork for the formal organization of the People's Party. Although over fourteen hundred delegates attended, few were *bona fide* labor representatives, and the convention was completely dominated by agrarian reformers. The delegates unanimously supported the formation of a new party and again reaffirmed the St. Louis and Ocala platforms.⁶²

Powderly, nevertheless, still fought off all attempts to commit the Knights to outright support of the Populists. Despite the increasing pressure on him by western members of the Knights, he insisted upon pursuing a nonpartisan policy and continued to warn against the dangers of partisan politics.⁶³ Powderly's position, however, did not find widespread acceptance, and the movement to establish the People's Party on a firm foundation with labor support continued unabated. In February 1892 another convention met in St. Louis to unite the various reform organizations solidly behind the new party. Of the 860 delegates present, only eighty-two were from the Knights. Including other union delegations, labor accounted for only twenty-five percent of the delegates, the remainder coming from various farm organizations. Eastern labor was entirely unrepresented. The convention made a show of unity by electing Hayes temporary secretary and Hugh Cavaneagh, General Worthy Foreman of the Knights, chairman of the platform

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, X (May 22, 1890), 1.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, XI (January 29, 1891), 1.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, XI (February 12, 1891), 1. Powderly also canceled a later convention that he had called. *Ibid.*, XII (July 9, 1891), 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*, XI (May 28, 1891), 1.

⁶³ Powderly to A. H. Shank, January 15, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

committee. In addition, A. W. Wright also headed subcommittee on land reform.⁶⁴

Despite the concessions apparently granted to organized labor, the platform adopted by the delegates was primarily an agrarian rather than a labor document.⁶⁵ The convention then made provision for a nominating convention, and the structure of the new political edifice was completed in July 1892 in Omaha, when the People's Party nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa and General James G. Field of Virginia for President and Vice President. Although Hayes was elected permanent secretary, control of the convention remained in agrarian hands and the delegates reaffirmed the platform adopted at St. Louis the previous February. To court working class support, however, the convention adopted a supplementary platform. These additions supported the restriction of contract labor and "undesirable immigration," offered sympathy to labor's efforts to shorten working hours, denounced the use of Pinkerton detectives in industrial disputes, and endorsed the Knights' boycott of the Rochester, New York, clothing manufacturers.⁶⁶

In the ensuing campaign the Knights played a minor role. Although assemblies were active in Weaver's behalf throughout the West and South, they were more appendages of farm groups than *bona fide* labor organizations. While the Knights made isolated efforts to rally eastern workingmen behind the Populist banner,⁶⁷ its endeavors met with little success. Although the *Journal of the Knights of Labor* strongly backed Weaver's candidacy,⁶⁸ Powderly's activities on behalf of the People's Party were anything but enthusiastic. In June 1892 he refused to accept credentials as a delegate-at-large from Pennsylvania to the Omaha convention because it meant abandonment of his nonpartisanship.⁶⁹ During the campaign he did little except make occasional speeches and write a few letters.⁷⁰ His support of Weaver, however, did not prevent him

⁶⁴ *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XII (March 3, 1892), 1-2.

⁶⁵ The platform called for monetary reform, free coinage of silver, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, land reform, government ownership and operation of the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones. The only concessions granted organized labor were embodied in the form of two supplemental resolutions endorsing the Knights' label and also National Trade Assembly 231 in its struggle against the clothing manufacturers of Rochester, New York. *Ibid.*, XII (March 3, 1892), 4.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, XIII (July 7, 1892), 1.

⁶⁷ See *ibid.*, XIII (November 3, 1892), 1, and XII (May 5, 1892), 1.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, XIII (July 14, 1892), 2.

⁶⁹ Powderly to F. Reed Agnew, June 14, 1892, Powderly Letter Books. See also *Journal of the Knights of Labor*, XII (June 2, 1892), 1; XIII (June 30, 1892), 1.

⁷⁰ Powderly to J. A. Fox, September 30, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

from expressing a hope that Harrison would triumph over Cleveland.⁷¹

While the results of the campaign of 1892 were enthusiastically hailed by the People's Party, it was also clear that the attempt to weld a farmer-labor coalition had completely failed. Although Weaver polled over a million popular votes and won twenty-two electoral votes, the results of the election also showed that the main strength of the Populists lay in the rural areas of the West. East of the Mississippi River the People's Party received only a sprinkling of votes. In the urban areas of Illinois the Populist vote was less than half of one percent of the total, and out of nearly 250,000 ballots cast in Cook County (Chicago), the Populist candidate received only 1,214.⁷² In the heavily-industrialized states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts the Populist vote was under 30,000.⁷³

Undoubtedly the fact that the farmers and workers had interests that were not identical contributed to the failure to forge an effective alliance between the two. *The People*, organ of Daniel DeLeon and the Socialist Labor Party, for example, pointed out that the Omaha platform contemplated "the promotion of the interests of the small farmer . . . by relieving him at the expense of the worker."⁷⁴ The underlying antagonisms of both groups, accentuated by differing economic interests, were never fully resolved. The farmers wanted high agricultural and low industrial prices—exactly the opposite from what the workers demanded. In turn the workers ardently supported eight hours, while the farmers looked askance upon such a demand.

Yet, as one student has pointed out, "both small farmers and urban craftsmen might well have profited from a limited program of state action that was restricted to cheap credit, cheap transportation, cheap communication and utility rates, and a minimum program of protective labor legislation, together with the destruction of monopolies and the reduction of great fortunes through taxation shifted somewhat from the shoulders of the masses."⁷⁵ The failure of the People's Party to recruit a following from the ranks of

⁷¹ Powderly to G. F. Washburn, October 13, 1892, Powderly Letter Books.

⁷² Destler, *American Radicalism*, 168; Mittelman, "Chicago Labor in Politics 1877-96," *loc. cit.*, 423.

⁷³ U. S. Bureau of Statistics, *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, XXXIII (1910), 662.

⁷⁴ *The People*, July 1, 1894.

⁷⁵ Destler, *American Radicalism*, 223.

organized labor between 1889 and 1892, then, was not merely a result of antagonistic economic interests, for both also had common interests. The events that transpired during these three momentous years had a deeper significance, for they were symptomatic of the changes taking place in the labor movement itself. It is important to note, for example, that the farmers chose Powderly as the man to negotiate with instead of Samuel Gompers, the representative of the trade unions. The Populists could only succeed in their effort to attain labor support if workingmen still adhered to an older form of reformism whose roots lay embedded in the equal rights and antimonopoly tradition of American radicalism. To the agrarians the Knights seemed best to represent that heritage. They could not turn to Gompers because he regarded the Farmers' Alliance as composed partially of employers with interests that differed with those of the workers.⁷⁶ So the Populists turned instead to the Knights. By pinning their hopes on the chance that American workingmen would still support a domestic species of reform, the Populists hoped to realize their dream of an irresistible farmer-labor alliance. Their choice of partners, however, turned out to be an unfortunate one, for the Knights of Labor no longer represented the aspirations of the American worker. From a peak of 700,000 in 1886, the membership of the Order plummeted to less than 100,000 by 1890. Instead of wooing organized labor, the Populists were merely negotiating with a band of individual reformers whose influence on the labor movement was fast disappearing. Thus the failure of the Populists to win labor support through an alliance with the once-powerful Knights demonstrated that workers for the most part had finally abandoned their absorption in reform and the older equal rights and antimonopoly heritage. Herein lay the real significance of the failure of the farmer and worker to come to terms between 1889 and 1892.

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⁷⁶ Gompers to Tom Mann, September 2, 1891; Gompers to J. F. Tillman, September 12, 1891; Gompers to O. P. Smith, February 10, 1892; Gompers to John McBride, February 6, 1893, Samuel Gompers Letter Books, A. F. of L.-C. I. O. Building, Washington, D. C.; Gompers, "Organized Labor in the Campaign," *North American Review*, CLV (July 1892), 93.

The Civil War Diary of Florison D. Pitts

Introduction

The experiences of many a Union soldier are mirrored in this diary of one member of that vast army now so recently disbanded forever. The long marchings, the rain and mud, sickness, ubiquitous hunger, victories and reverses, tedious hours whiled away in cards and games, the building of "shebangs," visits to town—all these are here. Singularly absent, however, is the "gripping" and the master-minding. In its stead we find, not perhaps a pervasive humor—there are delightful flashes—but an inclination toward seeing the bright side, if one were to be seen at all. Battles and skirmishes the writer recounts with a certain brevity and casualness suiting their being but part of the day's work. Certainly, in the midst of operations the writer did not assume the pose or judgment of the historian viewing these things from some lofty eminence. Where crushing defeat occurred, no dampening of spirit, no despair is confided to the diary's pages; perhaps music and reading served as the balancing factors. We find, too, an eye that darted about quickly, lighting on the odd, the irrelevant, the comic; an easy attitude to regulations; an appreciation now and then of Nature's finery and of urban scenes. One vivid impression which a modern reader will gain is that of the cumbrous military machine lumbering slowly, sometimes leisurely, but not steadily nor inevitably—indeed often mired down completely—to a rendezvous not always distinctly seen. And if the ordinary soldier of that army realized this, his perseverance all the more astonishes us.

Florison D. Pitts was one of the four sons of Hiram Avery Pitts. The father, born in Maine about 1800, came to Chicago in 1852, and established a factory producing horse powers and threshing machines, in which he had made some notable inventions.¹ The factory, at the corner of West Randolph and Jefferson Streets, burned down in September, 1855, after which it was rebuilt on a greatly extended scale. In 1860, the elder Pitts died, whereupon his sons managed the business.

Florison was already married to Jennie when the Mercantile Association of Chicago recruited and organized the Chicago Mercan-

¹ See *Dictionary of American Biography*, s. v. H. A. Pitts.

tile Battery, opening the muster rolls on August 5th, 1862. On August 13th the Battery went into camp near Camp Douglas, and was mustered into service August 29th, 152 men strong, Charles G. Cooley, Captain. The history of the Battery has been presented elsewhere;² here we may refer only to the campaigns in which Pitts' section served:

Sherman's expedition from Memphis to the Tallahatchie River, Mississippi, November 24–December 13, 1862.

Chickasaw Bayou, or First Vicksburg, December 21, 1862–January 1, 1863.

Arkansas Post, Arkansas, January 4–14, 1863.

Vicksburg, April 15–July 4, 1863.

Tentative movement through the Louisiana Teche country toward Opelousas, Louisiana, October 5–December 10, 1863.

Expedition to Matagorda Bay, Texas, December 26, 1863–February 28, 1864.

Red River expedition and Sabine Cross Roads (Mansfield, Louisiana), March 13–April 9, 1864.

Movement from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, against the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, ending at Pascagoula, Mississippi, November 27–December 31, 1864.

In a sense, with the coming of 1865, the war was over for Pitts and his Battery. Their lot from then on was pretty much garrison duty, disturbed only by the excitement of the mutiny, when the Battery refused to serve as infantry at Camp Parapet, New Orleans. But Pitts evidences no particular regret that the Battery's history comes to such a quiet close.

The Pitts diary, now in the manuscript collection of The Chicago Historical Society, consisted once of four small cloth-bound volumes. The third volume, covering the period July 1, 1864, to December 31, 1864, is missing. The chief event during this time in which the Battery participated was the raid made by General Davidson's cavalry force upon the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, the results of which were negligible.

In the editing of the three remaining volumes, I have employed dots to indicate portions omitted as lacking interest or pertinence;³ square brackets have been used to enclose explanatory comment or additions. The spelling of Pitts has been preserved.

² A. J. Andreas, *History of Chicago*, Chicago, 1885, 2. 282 ff.

³ The present edition represents roughly forty percent of the wordage of the extant diary.

I am happy here to express my thanks to The Chicago Historical Society for permission to publish these selections. To Mr. Paul Martineau, formerly Manuscript Librarian, and to Miss Elizabeth Baughman, Reference Librarian, I am deeply obligated for many kindly services.

LEO M. KAISER

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Selections from the Civil War Diary of Florison D. Pitts, Bugler, Chicago Mercantile Battery

[Chicago to Memphis]

Enlisted Aug. 23rd, 1862. Mustered into U. S. Service Aug. 29th, 1862.

Sat. Nov. 8th. Left Chi. at 2 o'clock P.M. Friends at cars to see us off. Reached Kankakee at dusk. Man in seat opposite of me took a buffalo robe and brought it into the cars.

Sun. Nov. 9th. Breakfast at Centralia. Rode on the guns a short distance. Engine gave out at Caloma [Dubois]. Sent back for another. A portion of the Co. got money at Caloma. Finally got off again. . . . Reached Cairo [Ill.] at 11 o'clock.

Monday, Nov. 10. Slept in cars night before with a stick of wood for a pillow. Took breakfast at St. Charles [Hotel]. Loaded our equipment on board the Str. *Diadem*, an old stern-wheeler. During the day visited the fortifications about the place; also the secesh prisons. Several gun boats in the river. Lots of big guns on the levee. Started for Columbus [Ky.] at 7 o'clock. Secured a berth on the *floor* of the boat with Sergt. [T. N.] Sickles.

Tuesday, Nov. 11. Awoke in the morning and found the boat lying at Columbus, Ky. Went ashore and got breakfast at a fourth-class restaurant. Saw Jim Morse there. Got trusted for breakfast. (Going to pay for it when I go back). Visited the fortifications on the bluffs. . . . Received orders to report at Memphis. Left for that place at 10 o'clock. Reached New Madrid, Mo. at dusk, and laid up for the night. Also passed Island No. 10 and gun boats *Louisville* and *Conestoga*.

Wednesday, Nov. 12th. Started down the river before daylight. Run aground 10 miles below New Madrid. On short rations. Noth-

ing to eat but hard crackers without coffee. We laid on the bar until 8 o'clock at night, when we went off with a jerk. Broke the big spar at the same time. Laid up for the night in the middle of the river. Thought the Rebs was going to attack us. Got the pistols all ready and filled the cannon with grape. Did not get woke up though.

Thursday, Nov. 13. Afloat again in the broad Mississippi. Nothing to eat as usual. Fired several rounds of shell from the guns. Put 3 shell in wrong end foremost. Reached Fort Pillow [Tenn.] at dusk. Captain put a guard around the boat. Jumped ashore and run the guard. Paid 10 cents for 6 apples. They came from the *Eugene*, which we passed sunk in the river to big hurricane deck. She [had] passed us while we were on the bar. At Ft. Pillow saw lots of contrabands, one of them just married. Quartermaster got provisions for us.

Friday, Nov. 14. All right again. Had breakfast of rice, beans, and coffee, the first since we left Columbus. Hove in sight of Memphis at 10 o'clock and landed at the dock at twenty minutes to two. . . .

Friday, Nov. 21st. Commenced getting material for building houses for winter quarters. Several brick houses in the course of construction.

Saturday, Nov. 22nd. Nothing of interest. At night went about a mile up the track, and tore down a house and barn for lumber to finish our houses with. Got back to camp all right. Used a hand car to take our things on.

Sunday, Nov. 23rd. Inspection of knapsacks and government clothing. Kept us in the hot sun about 3 hours. In the afternoon went over to the fairground and saw the review of troops under command of Gen. Smith.

Monday, Nov. 24th. Received marching orders. The boys had nearly got their shebangs completed when we were ordered off. Work was immediately suspended and we turned our attention to getting ready for the march. . . . Lips very sore. Could not blow the bugle. Stayed at Co. A's camp all night without leave.

Tuesday, Nov. 25th. . . . Lieut. [J. H.] Swan gave me fits for not cleaning my horse. Captain [C. G. Cooley] mad 'cause I did not ask his permission to leave camp. . . . Boys in good spirits. Burnt up some of the houses which was most done. Some of Co. A's boys came over to our camp. Went down to the Family Grocery and had a song.

[To the Tallahatchie River with Sherman]

Wednesday, Nov. 26th. Broke camp at daybreak and took up line of march for the sunny south. At noon we fed our horses and ourselves. At the 8 Mile Church got water for coffee out of the font of the church. Niggers were baptized in it the Sunday before. 113 Ill. Reg. on our right. Arrived at Germantown [Tenn.] at dusk. A hundred Rebel cavalry had passed through the town the night before towards Memphis. Went into camp two miles beyond at 9 o'clock. Slept without tents under the gun cover.

Thursday, Nov. 26th [27th]. Thanksgiving in the North. Got up at sunrise. Marched to Miss. state line and halted for feed in a planter's door yard, where the famous order was read about us charging on a hog pen. 2 hogs killed, none wounded. Stayed here 3 hours. Niggers had a dance. Gay old time all around. Started on our march about 3 o'clock. Fires all along the roads, caused by firing fences and gins. A planter's house was also burnt, including everything he had. Went into camp 2 miles from Coldwater, Miss. Supper off of hard bread and coffee. Lodging under a log.

Friday, Nov. 28th. Broke camp near Coldwater at 12 o'clock M. Passed many burning fences, "houses," also barns, out-houses, and everything that would burn was on fire. Passed a plantation "Massa." Said a woman belonging to the place "didn't belong to King Lincoln's army." At night marched until 12 o'clock. Went into park in a potato patch. Commenced to rain. Got our tent up and went to bed without any supper.

Sunday, Nov. 30. Bugle sounded at 4 o'clock. Started at 8 o'clock. Heavy firing ahead. Supposed to be in Grant's army at Abbeyville [Miss.] across the Tallahatchie. A soldier caught firing a cotton gin while the train was in motion sent to the rear to be tried by court martial. Train had to wait. Strung him up 3 times by the neck, but he would not tell anything. Went into camp in a cornfield near Chillahomi [Chulahoma, Miss.]. Got our tent nearly up when a terrible storm arose, and it required all of our combined efforts to keep it from falling over. Went to sleep on my blankets about 12 o'clock. It rained in torrents and blew hurricanes. Tent came down with a crash, me under it. Got my blankets over me and laid there for 2 hours. Got drowned out. Went to the fire. Awful cold. Got 2 sticks and put under the tent. Got under and slept until morning. "Bully."

Monday, Dec. 1st. Had a light breakfast. The soldier that

burnt the gin was marched past our camp with a ball and chain on his legs and a placard on his back with "This is the man that burnt the gin" on it. . . . Boys went cramping. Got lots of good things. Killed some beef and hogs. Had good supper. Went to bed early, feeling well satisfied with things generally.

Tuesday, Dec. 2. . . . Genl. [A. J.] Smith came along and said that the "rebs" had left Abbeyville, burning all their stores, and gone south hell bent. One of our men (Ryan) had deserted and given information in regard to our movements. Reached Wyatt [Wyatt] on the east bank of the Tallahatchie at 12 o'clock in a drenching rain. The "rebs" had cut the ferry, stopping our progress. Took up my quarters with Squad 1 in a fodder shed. Slept up in the rafters. The men were marched to the river to help build a bridge. Sent back; services not required.

Wednesday, Dec. 3rd. In fine spirits. Boys went foraging. Brought in molasses, sugar, meal. Turner brought in a jackass; also 210 lbs. of nails. Deserters came in from [Gen. Sterling] Price's army and gave themselves up.

Thursday, Dec. 4/62. Rained all day. Capt. and some of the boys went to Oxford with [Gen. W. T.] Sherman as a bodyguard. Boys went foraging and brought in 6 sheep, etc.

Friday, Dec. 5th. Turned out and blew reveille at 4 o'clock. Rainy, snowy, hail, cold, and nasty generally. Saddle all sleet. Like to froze. . . . Crossed the Tallahatchie. Mud very deep. Marched about 6 miles and went into camp at College Hill on brow of the hill. First rate place to camp. We were opposite to a large plantation. [S. F.] Denton and [Sykes] Hudson killed a hog. Denton hit himself in the head; cut himself very bad.

[Back to Memphis]

Wednesday, Dec. 10. Broke camp at Wyatt [Miss.] at 4 o'clock and marched to the forks of the road. Took the wrong road and had to back. Took this other road. After marching a short distance . . . found we had taken the right road at first. Had a fine day to march. . . .

Thursday, Dec. 11. Boys turned out at 3 o'clock. . . . Got to marching about 10 o'clock. Boys all mad because they had to get up so early. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 13. Rainy. Broke camp at 8 o'clock and marched into Memphis. Arrived at 11 o'clock. Very hungry. Bought 25c worth of gingerbread. Felt better. Received 5 letters from my wife

and one from mother. Mail contained 400 letters. Great joy in camp. . . .

Monday, Dec. 15th. Rained all night. Tent leaked like the D—1. Had to put 2 rubber blankets over me to keep off rain. Raining very hard today. Am wet through. Took possession of the Green home across the way from our camp. Old woman did not like it. Couldn't help it. Tent overflowed. Fellow went into niggers' quarters and said he would shoot them if they did not leave the tent. Tied the youth in the guard tent until morning.

Tuesday, Dec. 16th. Guns went down to the breast-works and fired 60 rounds of shot to an old hulk in the river.

Wednesday, Dec. 17th. Was reviewed by Genl. Smith, as also was his division. Was over to Co. A. Did not get back in time to go with them. Captain very mad.

Thursday, Dec. 18. Very nice day. Drawed a pair of boots, pants, and hat. Boots a mile to big for me. All the Lieuts. waited on captain, requesting him to resign. Commissioned and non-commissioned officers had a meeting in the evening about it. Man got his arm blown off by premature discharge of cannon. Belonged to one of the Ohio batteries. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 20. Broke camp at 10 o'clock and marched to the levee. Staid on the levee all day and slept under the caisson, part of the time at the fire. . . . About 100 boats at wharf.

[Memphis to Chickasaw Bayou, Miss.]

Sunday, Dec. 21st. Got loaded on board the *Louisiana* at 12 o'clock M. Grand rush for sleeping rooms. Got a chance on the floor in a stateroom. Bbl. of apples broke open; got about 20 of them. Fleet started down river at 1 o'clock. Gun boat ahead. 16 boats in the fleet (our division). Passed wreck, *Beauregard*, and President's Island, 3 miles below Memphis. . . . Slept over the steam pipe. Hot as h—. . . .

Monday, Dec. 22. Awoke at 6 o'clock. Boat lying at dock at Helena. . . . Went ashore. . . . Got off at 5 o'clock and laid up for the night about 10 miles below Helena. Boys had a sing in the cabin. Some sung, others hooked apples.

Tuesday, Dec. 23rd. Got on our way about 4 o'clock. Passed the *Von Phul* and *War Eagle* laying up to the shore. Lots of building burning all round them. Breakfast on hard tack and coffee. Passed Napoleon [Ark.] at the mouth of the Arkansas River. At 1 o'clock tied up at Ogdensburg. Went on shore. Got pickles. Played cards all evening.

Wednesday, Dec. 24. Still at landing. Boys went ashore and jerked a lot of stuff: candles, molasses, coffee, preserves, etc. Got off at 1 o'clock p.m. Felt sick and went to bed early.

Thursday, Dec. 25. Christmas in the North, and how I wish I was there. Awoke at 8 o'clock. Boat at Milligen's Bend, 22 miles north of Vicksburg. Gun boats at work down the river. Boys been a-jerking as usual. Burning houses . . . in the distance. . . . 8 Mo. had a skirmish on the landing just before our boat got there. . . . One of the 31 Ia. got shot in the leg. False alarm. Regiments all turned out and went to find the fight. Captain ordered out the "Co." "Ergo" Capt. and d—n fool! Was taken with the ague.

Friday, Dec. 26th. Sick with fever all day. [Gen. S. G. Burbridge's] Brigade that was ordered out to cut the railroad [Shreveport & Vicksburg], communications, and destroy cotton, came back, having been entirely successful. 900 bales of cotton, 3 bridges burned. . . .

Saturday, Dec. 27th. Better. Got out into the cabin. Boat still at Mulligan's Bend. Took horses of[f] the boat to stretch themselves. Put them on board again in the afternoon. Boat got off at 3 o'clock and got into the Yazoo at 4 o'clock. Landed at the junction at Yazoo and Old River.

Sunday, Dec. 28th. Boys turned out at 2 o'clock. Started for the fight [Chickasaw Bayou] at 6. Heavy firing on the left and centre all day. Gun boat run up the Yazoo and tried to take the Ft. Got 7 ball[s] through her and 17 men killed. Col., N. Y. man, killed in charging up the hills.

Monday, Dec. 29th. Very heavy firing on the left all day. [Gen. Frank P.] Blair and [Col. J. F.] De Coursey's Brigades made terrific chgs up the bluff. Was driven back with loss. [Gen.] Morgan L. Smith was wounded in leading the 8th and 6th Mo. across the swamp in front of Co. A. Held position for some time but was finally compelled to abandon it and fall back again.

Tuesday, Dec. 30th. Heavy firing on the left all day.

Wednesday, Dec. 31. Went out to the battery. Found them guarding a road that lead up to Vicksburg. Fortifications are being erected in front of our battery, made of logs, 8 ft. high. . . . Abt 12 acres of fallen timber in front of our entrenchments.

Thursday, Jan. 1 [1863]. . . . Saw where our dead was buried, abt. 250 in one place. Our guns in position expt 2nd and 3. Saw Rebel fortifications on the bluffs. Saw place where Smith was wounded. Boys having a sing in the evening ordered to stop by the

Genl. A Happy New Year! Ordered to pack up as quickly and silently as possible. Was ready in 20 minutes for moving.

Friday, Jan. 2. Got to landing at 3 clk. Left our guns at the old landing, and then took our horses up the landing abt 2 miles and loaded them on the *Adriatic*. Got through at 6 clk, "tired," "hungry," and sleepy. . . Roads awful. Gun boats shelling the fortifications when we started from the Yazoo. Started down the river at 12 o'clock, battery on the *Louisiana*, horses on *Adriatic*. Towed down the Yazoo by the *Louisiana* (our boat's engines being out of order) after very heavy rain storm.

Saturday, Jan. 3rd. Awoke at 7 o'clock. Rained all night very hard. Old boat leaked like the Devil. Arrived at Milligan's Bend at 9 o'clock. The shore lined with boats. Rained all day like everything. . .

Sunday, Jan. 4th. . . Boat still lying at the Bend. . . Boys got at the whiskey and all got tight.

[To Arkansas Post]

Monday, Jan. 5th. Awoke at 6. Sun shining and clear sky. On our way up river, towed by the *Polar Star* and *Meteor*. Landed at 11 o'clock for wood. Boys went for the plantation and jerked everything the man had. Capt. made us go ashore for rails. . .

Tuesday, Jan. 6. Boat run all night. Stopped to wood at 10 o'clock. Col. [William B. Woods] of the 76 Ohio put a guard on secesh property. Boys run guard and got a lot of chickens, ducks, geese. Had to carry rails about a mile. Got off at 1 o'clock, landed at 2 miles up the river at another plantation. Col. put [Wm.] Munn under arrest for taking 2 chickens. Munn threw them on board and saved them. Col. made him carry rails for an hour. . .

Wednesday, Jan. 7. Run all night. . . Gun boat just above us threw a shell at some rebels said to be in the woods abt a half a mile from us. Caught up with the fleet at 4 o'clock.

Thursday, Jan. 8. Turned out at 7 o'clock. Raining hard. Boat laying up on the Miss. shore, 1 mile from White River. Ordered to leave the *Adriatic* and go on board the *Louisiana*. All of the Co. sick. All the sick of a regiment come on board and fill the cabin full. . .

Friday, Jan. 9th. Laid up all night. Got into the White River at 1 o'clock. Whole fleet along. Run down the cut-off into the Ark. River.

Saturday, Jan. 10th. Fair day. 1st section of battery got off at Fletcher's Landing. . . Started for the Ft. [Hindman] at 2 o'clock.

Gun boat at work on the fort. Passed through open ground and then in the woods. Heavy firing from gun boats. Abt 50 prisoners were brought past us. Taking their camps close to the Ft. Drove them all into the Ft. Camped in the woods. Slept under a tree. Cavalry run over me; moved and slept the rest of the night side of Denton. Moon shine very bright.

Sunday, Jany. 11. Awoke at 5 o'clk. Had a good sleep. Breakfast on crackers and coffee. Morning very fair. Infantry moving by us all night. Started at 8 o'clock and moved through the woods within sight of the Ft. At 1:15 moved within 300 yds of the fort and commenced firing. Dismounted 2 guns, and 4 o'clk white flag run on the Ft. Lieut. [D. R.] Crego hit by a pce of shell and coporal Gardner got a pce in his leg. . . .

Monday, Jany. 12. Laid on the battle field. Went over the fortifications; saw secesh dead. . . . Dead horse abt 6 ft. from where I slept. 3 regiments captured this morning; also 2 transports and 2 regiments that were to reinforce the Ft. . . .

Wednesday, Jany. 14. Rained all night, got wet through. Stayed in the rain all forenoon. Went on board the *Ohio Belle* and got out of rain. Cold and wet. Made up our bed for the night on the bank. Boat come along; was going on board, but a regiment of infantry got on board ahead of us. Prospect: sleep out doors in the rain, or find some better place. Took our blankets on board the *Ohio Belle* and slept under the boilers.

[Back to Milliken's Bend]

Thursday, Jany. 15. Awoke at daylight after a good night's sleep. Ground covered with snow. Still snowing. No breakfast. Got on board the *Louisiana*. Infantry took up all the cabin and every thing else. Got a chance to sleep in the stern of the boat. Lucky. Snowed all day; raw, cold night. Boys like to froze. Wrote to mother. Boat started down river at 3 o'clock.

Friday, Jany. 16. Cold as the devil; sun shines once in a while. Boat stopped 2 or 3 times to wood up. Got into cut-off at 2 o'clk. Got into White River shortly after and the Miss. the same day.

Saturday, Jany. 17. Ran down the Miss. from the mouth of the White River to Napoleon [Ark.]. Cold as thunder. . . . Got a letter from mother with \$5.00 in it. Never felt so good in my life as when I found I had some money; also postage stamps. Run along side of the *Adriatic*.

Sunday, Jany. 18. Boat laid at Napoleon all day. Part of fleet

went down river. One of the new moniters passed us in the forenoon. . . .

Monday, Jany. 19. Started from Napoleon at daylight. Co. mustered on deck for the new orders and appointments. Genl. [Peter J.] Osterhouse order congratulating our battery on its good conduct in the Bat. of Ark. Post. . . .

Wednesday, Jan. 21. . . . Passed Lake Providence [La.] in the morning; arrived at Millikin's Bend in the afternoon. Rumor Gen. [N. P.] Banks below Vicksburg [in Louisiana] giving the rebels thunder. Passed the Bend. Don't know where we are going. . . .

Sunday, Jany. 25. . . . Charley Lewis died this morning at 5 o'clock. Wadsworth detailed to go to Chicago with the body. Cop. Goodrich detailed to go to Memphis with the sick. Went into camp a mile from the boats. . . .

Thursday, Jany. 29. Five months today since we were mustered into U. S. Service. Got a letter from mother containing stamps and a V. Heavy firing down river. One of our transports ran by the Vicksburg batteries. Had 117 shots fired at her. Only 12 took effect, not causing any serious damage. . . .

Monday, Feby. 2nd. Heavy firing down river, direction of Vicksburg. Since learned that it was caused by the *Queen of the West* [Col. Charles R. Ellet] running the blockade around the Point, destroying two transports and a Rebel gun. *Queen of the West* is now lying at the mouth of the canal [opposite Vicksburg].

Tuesday, Feby. 3rd. Bleak and cold. Nothing occurred to break the monotony of camp life. . . .

Thursday, Feby. 5th. Cold as Jehu. Laid in tent all day with a hot brick at my feet and a blanket over me. . . .

Saturday, Feby. 14th. Steamer or gun boat *Indianola* [Lt.-Com. George Brown] run the blackade on the night of the 13th about 12 o'clock. Tremendous firing of artillery by the Rebels in their vain endeavors to stop her. Mail came today. No letters for me. . . .

Sunday, Feby. 22nd. Our battery fired a salute in honor of the day, Genl. [A. J.] Smith commanding. . . .

Wednesday, Feby. 25th. . . . Heavy firing down river in the night, caused by a flat boat drifting past the Reb batteries. She was sent down by the 6th and 8th Missouri Inf. boys.

Thursday, Feby. 26th. Rained all day. Regular hurricane in afternoon. Read my Bible all day. . . .

Monday, Mch. 2. . . . Received orders to blow bugle calls as follows: reveille, 6:30 a.m.; roll call, 7; feed call directly after roll

call; guard mount, 8; doctor's call, 9; water, 9:30; feed call, 12; water, 4 p.m.; feed call, 5:30; retreat, roll call, sunset; tattoo, 9; taps, 9:30.

Tuesday, Mch. 3rd. ... Mindsen and myself built a table for our tent. Bully thing it is, to; also an arm chair made out of a barrell.

Wednesday, Mch. 4th. Went down to the lower landing. Bought butter, cheese, onions, molasses, potatoes, and biscuit. ... Heavy firing at canal caused by our men planting some new guns so as to command the river about the Point, and in order to get the range. Boys worked all day on a ditch which will drain the camp. 17th Ohio Battery lost 4 horses from distemper.

Thursday, Mch. 5th. Awoke with a headache. ... Was sick all day. ...

Friday, Mch. 6th. ... Bought a hen for 25c. Lieut of the 77th Ill. was in camp and said that the water was to be let into the canal on Sunday. Had roast beef and potatoes for dinner. ...

Sunday, Mch. 8. Four months today since leaving Chicago. ... Got 2 large pieces of wood, picked up in the 54 Indiana Reg. Was not allowed to take it away. ... Went bathing with Throop and Mindsen in afternoon. Rumor that we are going up river tomorrow. ... 3rd Missouri came up from canal where they were drowned out by the water and camped side of us. A report in camp that water has broken through the canal and cannot be stopped. ...

Saturday, Mch. 14th. ... Sick all day. ... Mail came; no letters for me. ...

Monday, Mch. 16th. Weather hot and sultry. Laid in bed part of the day. Got up in the afternoon; helped to get supper, and had a game of catch. ... Report that we are to have a mail in the morning; hope it may be true. Wrote to Jennie and sent her \$10.00.

Tuesday, Mch. 17th. ... Weather very warm. Boys had a dance by moonlight to the merry music of the contraband's fiddle. ...

Wednesday, Mch. 18th. ... Heavy firing in direction of Vicksburg. Mindsen went after a beef. Got a horn to[o] much and came back with seat of his pants ripped open double quick.

Friday, Mch. 20th. ... Heavy firing in direction of Vicksburg. Rumor that 2 of Farragut's gun boats [*Hartford* and *Albatross*] have got up from down below. ...

Saturday, Mch. 21st. ... Heavy firing all day in direction of Vicksburg. Drew a hat and haversack. Rumor that we are going to move in a few days. Tried on my new boots; fit first rate. ...

Sunday, Mch. 22nd. . . . Boats containing the Marine Brigade went by today, five transports all alike. Heavy firing at Vicksburg all day.

Monday, Mch. 23. . . . Heavy firing at Vicksburg all day. Boys went down with the sick horses to turn them over for better ones. Westbrook's horse fell into the ditch and covered him all over mud.

Tuesday, Mch. 24. Hurricane in the morning. Rain filled some of the tents and drowned the boys out. . . . Willson is trying to learn Mendsen euchre.

Wednesday, Mch. 25th. . . . The *Henry von Phul* came down from Napoleon with a drove of cattle. . . . A man sick with smallpox on levee in front of our camp all day. Waiting for the smallpox hospital to come along and take him off. Was vaccinated in the morning. . . .

Sunday, Mch. 29. Last night at 12 o'clock out tent pole broke and tent came down with a crash. Mendsen and I stayed in the tent until morning. Blowed a hurricane all night. Blew down the smoke stack of the *Universe* and raised cane generally. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 1st. Cool and clear. Went down to 77 [Illinois] sutler's. Got some crackers and butter. A large body of troops passed by on the levee, their destination said to be Richmond [La.], a town 12 miles in the interior. . . .

Saturday, Apr. 4. . . . Had the pleasure of talking with Genl. [A. J.] Smith. I asked him if we could take down a covering to a cistern to build a shebang of, and the only reply he made me was "NO." Very interesting conversation indeed.

Sunday, Apr. 5th. Got a pass and went out beyond the pickets some 7 miles. Stopped at a plantation belonging to Gibson. Nobody at home but the niggers, abt 75 in number. Gibson had ske-daddled to the interior. Passed on to the next which is also owned by Gibson. No white people around. 3rd plantation formerly occupied by a Dr. Mitchell who has taken bag and baggage and travelled for parts unknown. 4th plantation the owner had gone to Richmond in the morning with one of the ladies of the house. Soldiers had taken all of their cattle, and they did not have anything to eat. 5th place we got some sweet milk. 6th plantation owned by man who had deserted the place, leaving his niggers to take care of themselves. House furnished beautifully. Furniture had been all smashed up by our soldiers. Made the negroes get us a dinner; paid them in tobacco and whiskey. Dr. Dancy's was the next place we went to. Had a long talk with the Dr. and his wife. We were treated to

buttermilk, and had a bouquet of flowers given to each of us. After enjoying ourselves hugely we took our leave. Bought 10 chickens of the niggers and paid 2/ apiece: \$1 in green backs and the remainder in secesh money, which the Dr. said was as good for them as any other money. Put the chickens in a bag and turned our faces home. Passed Genl. [John A.] McClelland and wife riding out in a chaise. . . .

Wednesday, Apr. 8th. . . . Went about 2 miles up the levee to get to the parade ground. Troops were inspected by Genl. McClelland and Genl. Smith. 8000 men and 2 batteries were present. Got my picture taken; cost me a dollar.

Thursday, Apr. 9th. . . . Had a grand review at Grant's headquarters. Was reviewed by Grant and McClelland. . . . 14 regts. and 2 bats. reviewed. . . .

Friday, Apr. 10. . . . Had my picture taken. Wrote to mother and sent my likeness. Put oil into "Jack's" ears to prevent the gnats from troubling him. . . .

Saturday, Apr. 11. . . . Turned over our Sibley tents and got 18 Bell tents. Worked very hard getting up our new tents. Had a little whiskey in the afternoon. . . .

Sunday, April 12. Rained all night; awful muddy in our camp. Worked all forenoon making a set of furniture for our parlor. Had preaching in camp by the chaplain of the 77 Regt. Ill. Vol. Text: "For what shall it profit a man to gain the whole world and lose his own soul." Went down to the *Pembina* and got shaved and hair cut. . . .

Monday, Apr. 13. Laid in bed all forenoon. Eat no breakfast or dinner. Rained all day. Hanson and Dalbee came over and we played 7 up until tattoo. Marching orders were read today; one brigade to move at 9, and the second to move at 12 o'clock tomorrow morning.

Tuesday, Apr. 14. Rained all night. Water 2 inches deep in our tent. The roads in such state that our B. could not move today; will probably go tomorrow. . . . Bought the *Chi. Tribune* of the 9th.

[To Hard Times Landing, La.]

Wednesday, Apr. 15. Reveille at daylight. Struck tents at 7 o'clock. Marched 12 miles. Camped $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Richmond. Roads awful muddy. Slept under the tarpoleen. Capt. [P. H.] White sick. Slept side of me. Baggage wagons stuck in the mud 3 miles back. . . .

Thursday, Apr. 16. Got to marching at 8 o'clock. Detail sent back to get the baggage wagons out of the mud. Marched all day. Went into camp on McFarland's Plantation. Passed through Holmes' Plantation. Big mill and large engine in it. Our men running the mill to make boats to cross the bayous in. Made 10 miles today. Got a beef out of one of the fields which Tom Butters slaughtered when we got into camp. McFarland's boy, 17 years old, had run the niggers, 17 in number, and mules, 20 in number, back into the swamp, where we could not get at them. Said to have a box, contents not known, buried somewhere on the plantation.

Friday, Apr. 17. Moved our camp across the road into a camp just vacated by the infantry. Some 8 or 10 ovens in the camp which come very handy. . . . Heavy firing at Vicksburg all night.

Saturday, Apr. 18. Hot as the devil. Went bathing in the bayou. . . .

Monday, Apr. 20. Hot as thunder. Went bathing in the bayou.

Tuesday, Apr. 21. Clear and cold. . . . Had a game of 7 up. In the afternoon played authors' game. . . . Heard that we are defeated at Charlestown. Gun boats and transports are going to run blockade tonight at Vicksb. Troops below us all gone to [New] Carthage [La.].

Wednesday, Apr. 22. . . . Heavy rain all night. Boys in the 130 [Ill.] killed an alligator in the bayou, 4 feet long. Played euchre in orderlies' tent in evening. . . .

Thursday, Apr. 23. . . . Very heavy firing at Vckg. all night, caused by our boats running the blockade. 6 transports said to have gone by in safety. One was sunk. Estimated that 600 shots must have been fired. Went down to bayou and had a swim. . . . Played cards all forenoon. In afternoon took a nap. In evening boys reading *The Federalist* out loud.

Friday, Apr. 24, 1863. Marching orders at 5 o'clock, P.M. Got off at 9 o'clock. Went 6 miles and went into camp for the night. Went to bed at 2 o'clock a.m. under a large tree. Slept with the Cap. . . .

Sunday, Apr. 26. . . . [Gen I. F.] Quinby division passed our camp today. In afternoon got the tent up and was already for the storm that was rising, when orders came for us to hitch up and travel in an hour. Steam boats were carrying troops from the place where we was encamped to Carthage. Warm. Started abt 8 o'clock [P. M.] and abt an hour after rain came down in torrents. Roads got muddy. The night was awful dark. The thunder and lightning was

incessant. Went abt 4 miles and camped in cornfield along side of fence.

Monday, Apr. 27. . . . Mud, mud, mud. Made 3 miles and camped in the woods of a La. bottom. Rained all day. . .

Tuesday, Apr. 28. Reveille at 3 o'clock. Got off at 7 o'clock. Horses had no breakfast. Crossed bridge no. 3 and marched to Perkins' Plantation where we cooked dinner. The plantation is on the river—Mississippi. The road we came lay around the bayou and the rain had made the roads awful muddy. [Gen. A. P.] Hovey's division passed us at this place. On the march again at 5 o'clock p.m. Road lay on the levee of the Miss. for some ways, after which it lay along a bayou which passes through the most beautiful country I ever saw. Travelled 6 miles. Went into camp at 10 o'clock in the middle of the road. Slept under the caison. . .

Wednesday, Apr. 29. Reveille at 3 o'clock. Marched at 5 o'clock a.m. In the afternoon stopped abt 3 hours to cook 3 days rations. Ordered to leave knapsacks behind; also left 2 guns and caissons, all of the wagons, battery wagon, and forge. Went on the levee at abt 5 miles to Hard Times Landing. Went into camp side of levee. Went down to the river and saw the transports run the blockade at Grand Gulf [Miss.]. 6 transports got by all right; 5 or 6 gun boats also. Left our tents with the wagons. Slept in the open air. Dew fell very heavy.

Thursday, Apr. 30. . . . Gun boats and transports loaded with troops cross the river and landed on the Miss. shore at Bruinsburg, 5 miles below Hard Times Landing. Hitched up in the afternoon and went down to boats that was to take us across. Laid down on the levee and slept about 2 hours. Got loaded at abt 12 o'clock p.m. Night cold and windy. Left my overcoat with my knapsack. Had nothing to put over me. I thought I would freeze. Laid down in the dirt and tried to sleep. Could not go to sleep. Felt as if I had a bushel of dirt on me.

[Bruinsburg to Vicksburg]

Friday, May 1. Landed at Bowlinsburg [Bruinsburg], Miss, about 2 o'clock a.m., and got unloaded at daylight to the road to Port Gibson, over bluffs and hills, through valley and dales, over ditches, bridges, and every thing else that came in our way. Had gone abt 4 miles when heavy cannonading in front caused us to move on at the double quick. After going 10 miles, came up to the battlefield [Port Gibson]. Was immediately placed on the

extreme right and fired a few shell into the woods. Heavy fighting on the left and centre all day. Enemy 11,000 strong. Took 4 pieces cannon, 500 prisoners. Loss to us 100 killed, 800 wounded. Battle commenced at 2 a.m. and ceased at 7 p.m.

Saturday, May 2nd. Slept last night on the battlefield alongside of our pieces. At 3 o'clock this morning the pickets discharged their pcs and rushed into camp. It proved, however, to be a false alarm. Went to bed and slept until morning. Our line of battle was formed and we commenced hunting for the enemy. After marching some time found that the Rebs had retreated the night before at 7 o'clock. Our division [10th, A. J. Smith's] had the advance and occupied Port Gibson at 9 o'clock. Found the Rebs had burned the bridge across the bayou [South Fork of Bayou Pierre] in their retreat. Threw some shells across the river into the woods. Boys jerked every thing they wanted from the stores. Got a bridge built across the bayou abt 5 o'clock. Troops were crossing up to 8 o'clock. Our division was left in the town over night. Slept in an old house, first rate place. . . .

Sunday, May 3rd. Reveille at 3½ o'clock. Got ready to march at 7 o'clk. Marched 8 miles and went into camp on the north side of the Bayou Pierre at Grind Stone Ford. Rebels had burned the bridge across the bayou, so we had to ford it. Day was very warm and roads awful dusty. . . .

Monday, May 4. Still at the bridge. Boys went foraging. Brought in 6 horses, 4 mules, a wagon, 27 hams, and 5 niggers. Day very warm. Went bathing in the bayou.

Tuesday, May 5. . . . Went in swimming 2 or 3 times, and read *Jacob Faithful* all the rest of the time.

Wednesday, May 6. Camp life as usual. . . . Went in bathing. Lent Prior my horse to go in to the country to see some of his former sweethearts. . . .

Thursday, May 7. . . . Slept in an old wagon all night. Prior came back to camp without my horse. Said he was stolen the night before. Had to ride an old crow bate all day. Marched 10 miles. Went through Rocky Springs. Camped a mile on the other side of the town. . . .

Saturday, [May] 16. Started at 7 o'clk and marched on good roads. At 10 o'clock commenced marching carefully. The enemy in front. A heavy battle [Champion's Hill] raged on our right 4 to 5 hours. Reported that a battery and 1000 prisoners were captured. Blount's Battery [17th Ohio] opened fire but were driven

back by a Rebel battery. Retired a few rods and took a new position. After remaining here $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours we moved forward in a great hurry, leaving caissons behind. After moving over several hills we took position on a small hill. Remained here but a short time when the right section was ordered to a high hill in front. Had hardly got into position when a whole battery opened fire onto us, filling the air with grape and cannister, wounding Adams, Cop. [C. P.] Hazeltine, and killing 4 [?] of our horses. Capt. White stood up like a hero, coolest man I ever saw. Said that we killed Rebel Genl. [Lloyd] Tiglman [Tilghman]. Battle closed at night and went to bed tired and sleepy.

Sunday, May 17. Started early, feeling our way. Found the enemy gone, having left all their caissons and a number of cannon behind, also a large number of wagons. Saw some of their wounded near the road. After marching 6 or 8 miles heard a battle [Big Black River] raging in front. We moved to the left, and on reaching the scene of action, found the enemy gone, leaving a splendid line of cotton breastworks, 2 miles long; also 10 splendid cannon with equipment and ammunition. Also 1 regiment, 60th Ten. prisoners. Genl. Osterhaus wounded. Left section . . . was ordered to the front to shell the woods across the river to protect the advance of our troops. Went with them as No. 7. After firing some time, the centre section was ordered down. After firing some 150 rounds, was ordered back and got into camp for the night.

Monday, May 18. Started at 9 o'clock and crossed the Big Black. Found tents standing and muskets burning. Roads very dusty. Camped on a hill about dark. Day's move brought us within 5 or 6 miles of Vicksburg. Very large fire in Vicksburg.

Tuesday, May 19. Started at 8 o'clock. Moving slowly until noon when we came in sight of the fortification of Vicksburg. Formed line of battle in a cornfield. Afterwards moved forward into the road and [Capt. Jacob T.] Foster's Battery commenced firing over us. Rebel shell landed [?] near us. Moved back gun No. 1. . . Took position on a hill and fired at their fort.

Seige of Vicksburg. Commenced on the 19th day of May. Charge made on the 22nd at 10 o'clock. Capitulated on the 4th of July to Genl. Grant. 27,000 prisoners, 102 guns, 30 siege guns, and 50,000 muskets fell into our hand. Also 1 Lieut. Genl., 4 Major Genls., and 130 Col., 30 locomotives, and any amt. of ammunition. . . . Went to hospital on the 4th. . . . Went from division to corps hospital on the 17th. . . .

[July] 27th. ... We are now encamped on the bank of the Miss., ready to move at 10 o'clk. Got a box from home; lot of good things. ... Moved back from the river and went into park at foot of the bluffs. Dam poor place. ... Wrote to H. A. Pitts & Co. for some money. Have not had a cent for 10 weeks. Most — — hard up. ... The B[attery] tight as a peep. ... Mrs. Turner brought down some ale. Have had a — good time Since it has been here been tight as a peep all the time.

[July] 28th. ... Boys in the tent arguing like thunder about McClellan and other Eastern generals. Sykes Hudson for Mc, and all the rest of the boys against him. ... Quite cool tonight. Got some mighty good ale; got tight. ...

[July] 29th. ... Boys having a great time over enlisting in the Veteran Corps. Men who enlist from the volunteer service into the regular service for 3 years are allowed 60 days furlough and \$400 bounty. Rumor that we are going to Natchez in course of ten days. ... A beautiful night. Can see to read by moonlight. Just such nights as I used to spark Jennie in. Eleven months today since we were mustered into the U. S. Service. Had codfish for dinner and apple sauce for supper. ...

[July] 31st. ... Day awful warm. Was taken sick with dysentery. ... Had inspection of the whole division at 6 o'clock. Full moon and band playing in the distance. ...

Aug. 1st. ... Got some lemon syrup from Sanitary Stores. ... Report that Gen. [E. O. C.] Ord has gone to Natchez [sic] with one brigade. A fleet of boats came up from New Orleans. One is said to have Genl. Banks on board. ... Moon up and bright. We got drunk.

Aug. 2. ... Hot as damnation. ... Got some medicine of Gil Stees for dysentery. ... Saw some of the water batteries in front of the seminary, now a Rebel hospital. Mother sent me a rubber blanket, 2 shirts, 6 prs stockings, and lots of other things besides. ...

Aug. 3. ... Went down to the river and took a bath. ... Awful warm all day. Order read about enlisting in the Veterans Corps. Very sick in afternoon. ...

Aug. 4th. Sick. Boys went down to the city to get their pay. Did not go with them. ... Hot as the devil. Got 6.00, all my pay for May and June. Boys playing poker all over camp. Paid squad 1.00; paid Mendson 5.00; paid [S. L.] Parker 2.00. Borrowed 5.00 from Elijah. ... Received a letter from H. A. Pitts & Co. enclosing 25.00. Paid Elijah \$5.00 that I owed him. Gave away a

pr of drawers and 2 shirts; also a gov. shirt to make room in my knapsack for new things I got from mother. A lot of transports laying at landing (Elliot's Gorilla Fleet). Brigade of Hovey's division loading on to the boats. Dr. Turner and wife had quite a sing tonight. . . .

Aug. 7th. . . . Still on the sick list. . . . Bot a bottle of pickles, 75c. Went to sutler's in the evening; bot some milk, 75c; apple butter, 1.00. Made some milk toast for supper. . . .

Aug. 8th. . . . Got an awful bad belly ache this morning. Went to sutler's: honey, 75c; crackers, 25c; oysters, 60c; butter 62 $\frac{1}{2}$ c. . . . Boys in squad 5 playing poker and gambling generally. . . .

Aug. 9th. Day clear and warm. Breeze from the river. Lot of the boys down town to church. Went down to landing. A large number of boats. Saw the *Conestoga* and 2 other gun boats. Hay barge upset, and a large lot of bales went down river. Nigger on 2 bales out in the river, trying to get bales in by paddling with his hands. Somebody threw him a board. Came away; don't know whether he get them ashore or not. Saw a lot of 15-inch mortar shells (abt 3000) and a number of mortars. . . .

Aug. 10. . . . Commenced duty today. [Lieutenant P. S.] Cone lent a hd. quarter nigger my horse to go into the country with. Trouble in camp about officer eating private's rations. Went in swimming in the evening. . . .

Aug. 11. . . . Milk toast for breakfast. Milk, 30c; butter, 50c; potatoes, 25c; 4 ale, 50c. Went in swimming in afternoon. Wrote to mother in afternoon. Drunk 20c worth of lemonade for 50c. Lot of troops went down river today. Sent an order to Osgood for my flute; also a note to Jennie to give it to him. Sent 2.00 for some books. . . .

Aug. 12. . . . Went down town in afternoon. Got shaved; cost me before I got out of the shop 1.35. Got an ambrotype taken; cost me 1.25. Changed our old brass 6 pdr guns for 10 pdr Parrots. All four taken from the Rebs. Saw a park of about 100 guns captured from the Rebs in recent operations. In town at the corner of every block is a high embankment to mount guns on in case we got into the city. Sun awful hot. . . . Genl. Grant and one of his staff rode by camp tonight. One of our new guns is the *Lady Price* of Black River notoriety. . . .

Sunday, Aug. 16. Morning very warm and sultry. Went to Presbyterian Church some 3 miles from camp. Walked all the way, half of the way through the hot sand. I never suffered so with

heat in my life. Thermometer stood I should think at about 125°. Dyer played organ....

Aug. 17. ... In afternoon went up town. Saw the bully guns of Vicksburg: the *Lady Davis*, a smooth bore of about 164 pounder; the other the *Tennessee*, a very rifled gun—I should think a hundred pounder. They command the point. Rode around town. Got served lemonade and piece of pie. Played a game of billiards with Harnet....

Aug. 19. *City of Madison* blew up her boiler, caused by dropping percussion shell. She was the Corps' Ordnance Boat. Out on poker 1.20; apple, .05. Some 20 lives lost on the boat that blew up.... A citizen found behind the 17 Ohio Battery dead. Supposed to be killed by the 3 Missouri Cavalry.

Aug. 20th. ... Dr. Turner commenced an application on the inside of my throat for some disease that makes my throat sore. Used a solution of silver. I have had a very sore throat for a long time....

Aug. 23rd. Day very warm, 112° in the shade.... Got order to march tomorrow. Got shaved, 10c. Made a pair of leather suspenders. One yr. today since I enlisted....

[From Vicksburg to New Orleans]

Aug. 25. ... Got orders to move on board boat at 11 o'clock.... The boat's name is *The Atlantic*, a very large boat. 2 regiments and our battery are loaded on her.... Gilbert, Coates, and several others drunk as the d—l....

Aug. 26. Clear and warm. Boat left Vicksburg at 1 o'clock.... Boys got at some contraband whiskey and all got drunk. Tom Egan would not do what he was bid, and got tied up for it. Passed Natchez at ½ past eleven.... Out of 13 boxes of wine the owner got but two. Miss. side all bluffs, La. side low ground. Got to the mouth of Red River at 4 o'clock. Gun boats *Chocketaw* and *Osage* laying at the mouth....

Aug. 27. ... Got to Baton Rouge about 12 o'clk. Ground low on both sides of river. Sugar plantations all around.... Got to Carrollton at 10 o'clock. Carrollton is 8 miles above N. O. Connects by R. R. Fare 10 cents. Can get anything you want to eat at reasonable rates. Went into camp about ¾ mile from town....

Aug. 28. ... Put up tents, made bunks. Drank lemonade and lager and other things to numerous to mention. ..

Aug. 29th. ... Went out on review under Genl. Banks. Large number of troops, 13 Army Corps complete, on review, about 20,000.

Sykes [Hudson] and myself got a pass and went down to New Orleans. Had a gay old time....

Aug 30th. Felt sick all day....

Aug. 31. ...Went down to pedlar's stand and got breakfast. Mustered for pay this morning. Shilling pretty tight; could whip the whole squad.

Sept. 1. ...Went down to New Orleans. Walked around all day. Saw New York steamer *Evening Star*, an English man-of-war, and a steamer from France. Went to the St. Charles Hotel. Took street cars and went down to cemetery. Saw a little musquito gun boat. Saw a carriage full of men and women, all drunk, having a gay old time. Got dinner; cost 1.25. Came back in 4 o'clock train. Genl. [C. C.] Washburn came down to the battery. Got some new tarpoleen. Went in swimming in the evening.

Sept. 2nd. ...Slept nearly all day. Horses with harness on all day, expecting Genl. [M. K.] Lawler to review us. [J. W.] Arnold had some good whiskey. Rumor that our division is to garrison New Orleans....

Sept. 4. Clear and warm. Ordered to be ready for review by Genl. Grant at 8 o'clock. Got out on the field at the time appointed.... Ordered to sound the commence-firing call when the Genl. came onto the field. Went over to the color stand and blowed it. Large number of citizens of N. O. came out to see the review. Was reviewed by Genl. Grant, Banks, and staffs. My horse got his foot over the halter and nearly sawed his hind foot off. Boys all off to New Orleans, 1st Division of our Army Corps [the 13th] is crossing the river this afternoon on a transport. Laid abed all afternoon and read Genl. Grant's report on the siege of Vicksburg. 13th Army Corps: Maj. E. O. C. Ord, Corps Commander; 1st Division, Maj. Genl. C. C. Washburn; 2 Division, Maj. Genl. [F. J.] Herron; 3rd Division, Maj. Genl. Hovey; 4 Division, Brig. Genl. Burbridge. The Mercantile Battery is in the 2nd Brigade of the 4th Division.... Genl. Grant in turning a corner quite suddenly ran into a carriage that was coming the other way. Was thrown from his horse and hurt very bad. Report that Sumpter is taken. Boys all yelling like devils....

Sept. 6th. ...Went in swimming in the morning. Changed my cream for a brown horse. Judson got old man Benson to fighting Arnold. Went to city. Went to the *Pensacola* to get situation as Bugler. Could not get transferred.

Sept. 7th. Went down to New Orleans with Geo. Throop. Had

a game of billiards at the St. Charles. Rolled 2 games of ten pins. Had 2 doz. of oysters. Took street cars and went up Canal Street to cemeteries and canals. Went to Lake Pontchartrain by boat. Went in swimming in the lake. Got some salt water in my mouth; made me sick. Was fishing for crabs. Caught a large number. . . .

Sept. 8th. . . . Weather hot and sultry Don't get half enough to eat. Bought a piece of pie with postage stamps. Horses get 2 feeds of oats a day. Eating ropes, posts, and anything they can get at, they are so hungry.

Sept. 9th. Went to town and played seven games of billiards at the St. Charles. Got back at 5 o'clock. Chase Dickinson came back from the north and brought me a letter from Jennie, my flute, and a book for flute. Played on it all the evening. Got Jennie's picture also by Dickinson. 11th Indiana Band out serenading in the evening. Eat 4 plates of ice cream. Got snubbed in the street cars. Wanted to hand up a girl's fare and she would not let me—reason, *I suppose*, because she was secesh and I was a Union soldier. . . .

Sunday, Sept. 13/63. Rations all gone; nothing but bread and coffee. Do not draw any more rations until day after tomorrow. . . . All of our Corps gone except our Division. Went to Carrollton Depot in the evening; got a glass of wine. . . . Wrote nearly all day. . . .

Sept. 15th. . . . Lots of bands practicing in the woods, making the morning hideous with the *joyful* notes. Slept all the afternoon. Rumor that our troops and the Eastern troops were fighting with each other. Orders to be ready to march between now and Sunday night. Report that we are going to Sabine Lake, Texas.

Sept. 16. . . . Dyer and myself called on one of the town people who had a piano, and amused ourselves for some time at music. Spent my last 5 cents today. Flat broke. Had fish for dinner. Reported a sore throat to Dr. Turner. . . . A good many musketoes around last night. Boys in squad 1st tent had a heavy old sing in their tent. A lot of squad 3rd boys went down town, got dinner, and did not pay for it. . . .

Sept. 17. . . . Squad 1's gun had to go to river to stop a boat to send forage up to Herron's army. . . . Tom Egan, squad 1, has got *tinctured*. . . . Went down town on the 2 o'clock train and called on Mrs. — and daughter. Girl in Baton Rouge. Had quite a play on the flute. Dyer played the piano. Col. Jones called while we were there. They had two splendid pianos. Old lady very garrulous. Went to St. Charles and got a good supper. St. Charles Billiard Saloon. Got a cigar. . . .

Sept. 18. It was very warm when I went to bed. Musquitos were very thick, and prickly heat bothered me almost to death. . . . Train of cars ran over one of our mules and broke his leg; had to kill him. Captain sent in his resignation and then revoked it. Set by the fire and told stories in the evening. . . .

Sept. 19. . . . Did not get to sleep until 4 o'clock this morning. Did not get up to roll call. Read *The Shell Hunters* or *An Ocean Love Chase*. . . . Joe Bar[r] got back from a two day's tight down to New Orleans. Got a — [?] from Dr. Turner to wash my throat with. Niggers had a dance in front the Capt.'s quarters until after ten o'clock.

Sept. 20th. Slept first rate. Did not get out to roll call. Dr. applied some medicine for my throat. . . . Splendid today; quite cool and not a cloud to be seen. We are encamped in a most lovely place in a grove of very large pecan trees. The moss hanging from each limb give the place a most unique appearance. At night the owl's hoot most musical. "Mast" Dickinson and myself took a walk down town. When we came back we had a grand revival, Dick. leader of the choir.

Sept. 21. . . . Went with Dyer and [J. C.] Lee and heard a young lady sing and play on the piano. Came home about ten o'clock. Was very tired.

Sept. 22nd. Woke up in the middle of the night and found that my bed fellow had unfortunately been taken sick, and I found that I had the effects of it on my drawers. It *smelt very bad*. . . . Throop and myself went to New Orleans. . . . Went down Basin and Circus Street. Saw some of the sights. Got some oysters. Came home with a sick headache. . . . Boys went out hooking oranges. Drew a lot of new saddles. Start for Texas the last of the week.

Sept. 23rd. . . . Found a lizard under my pillow. Day quite cool. Took a dose of salts in the afternoon. . . . Boys Squad 4 out jerking potatoes last night. Boys in Squad One's shebang making an awful noise at night. Genl. Burbridge sent an order for them to stop.

Sept. 24th. . . . Did not sleep very well last night. Got a fever and slight headache today. Dr. gave me quinine to take; dose: 2 gr. every 3 hours. A fish peddler came into camp with 13 fish in a cart. Boys stole all of his fish and tipped over his cart. Fit my saddle to my horse. Had fish and potatoes for dinner. Took a ride down to Carrollton. Got a sore behinder in consequence.

Sept. 25. Parker, Dyer, Robb, and myself called on Miss Pfranz

in the evening and had a sing. Squad 4 boys out foraging and the patrols took after them. Did not catch them. . . .

Sept. 26th. . . . Sewed up my pants. Sick in the afternoon. . . . Called on Miss Pfranz. . . . Lost my keys in Miss Pfranz' piano.

Sept. 27, Sunday. Beans for dinner. . . . Read in my Bible. Washed all over. Washed some clothes. Eat 2 pieces of pie for dinner; expense 15c. Laid around, walked around, and finally went to bed. . . .

Sept. 29th. 13 months today since we were mustered in the Service. . . . Boys ordered to hitch up at 8 o'clock (rained like thunder) for inspection. Just got harnessed when orders were issued to unhitch and unharness. Got completely soaked. Read one of Beadle's dime novels, *East and West*. . . .

Sept. 30th. Rained all night, and this morning it comes down 2.40. Tent overflowed. Mud 2 feet deep in the middle of tent. Nothing to eat but bread and coffee. Abt 40,000 flies in tent. . . . Boys robbed a nigger of his oranges, hat, and watch chain. . . .

October 1st, 1863. . . . Had fresh beef for breakfast. . . . Played whist in the evening. Somebody greased the R. R. track. . . .

Oct. 4th. . . . Visited the fortifications above the city which extend across the country from the river to the Lake. Saw Miss Pfranz. Robb and myself called on her in the evening. Boys cleaned out a bar up town. Any amount of whiskey, rum, gin, brandy and wine in camp. Most all got drunk as the Devil and had an awful time. In the afternoon when Geo. and me returned from our ride, found the battery all hitched up, ready to move. Just going to start when orders came to unhitch and tie our horses to picket rope. Boys had burned up all their beds and had to sleep on the ground. . . .

[From New Orleans to Opelousas, La.]

Oct. 5th. . . . Ordered to move at 4 o'clock; did not get away until 7. Went to levee and loaded on the steamer *Emerald*. Boat started about 8 o'clock. Doggett [battery dog] got hurt and Billy Stevens has gone back for him. . . . Arrived at Algiers below and on the opposite side of the river from New Orleans after a pleasant ride of an hour and a half. Unloaded the boat and put the battery on to the cars. Got loaded about 12 o'clock. Capt. White sick; Lieut. Throop in command; Joe Bar[r] drunk. Got on our way at 1 o'clock. Arrived at Brashear City [Morgan City, La.] at 9 o'clock. Unloaded our horses and guns, put the guns on a ferry and our horses on a steamer (*Thomas*). Crossed the river [Atchafalaya] and

took our horses off about 12 o'clock p.m. Brashear City is a big mud hole with a few houses stuck up on stilts. . . .

Oct. 7th. Reveille at 4 o'clock. Got to marching at 6 o'clock. Road for some miles lay through a swamp, and on both sides of it were ditches made by making the road. Saw a number of dead alligators and 2 live ones. Passed through Pattersonville, 9 miles from Algiers. Struck the Teche River [Bayou Teche] shortly after leaving Pattersonville. Passed a steamboat without any smoke stacks. Country along this river is high and rich. Numerous plantations with sugar refineries and long rows of nigger huts, but now the places are all deserted. Houses are all torn down, and numerous are the indications of heavy skirmishing when we occupied the country for the first time. Went into camp on the bank of the river in the front yard of a once fine plantation palace. Just before arriving at camp passed the steamboat *St. Charles* at the wreck of the gun boat *Ben Cotton* (Rebel) which our gun boats sunk last spring. Our folks had placed powder under the wreck and were just ready to blow her up with a galvanic battery. Got a lot of oranges on the way. . . . Made 18 miles.

Oct. 8. . . . Got to Franklin [La.] at 11 o'clock. . . . Paid 24 dollars for 5 pies, 20 dollars for 20 cigars . . . and (Confederate money) got a can of milk and some cheese. . . .

Oct. 9th. . . . Marched to within a mile this side of New Iberia. . . . Passed a house with the British flag hanging from it. Ordered back to Franklin. . . . Brass band of the 3rd Division playing in the evening. A beautiful day for marching. . . .

Oct. 10. Reveille at 4 o'clock. On the road at 5½ o'clock. Prairie on fire in the distance. . . . Passed by plantations where protection papers had been granted. . . .

Sunday, Oct. 11th. . . . Orders read in relation to the conduct of troops in Franklin. Got to Franklin at 9 o'clock. Stopped outside of the town some time. Moved through town and camped on the northwest corner of the town. Got our shebangs up and built bunks. . . . Wreck of a Rebel gun boat in the Bayou opposite camp. . . . Heard some heavy firing in the distance. The Bayou is full of alligators. A steamboat passed; got some bread off of it.

Oct. 12. . . . Mendsen got some Confederate money. Bot some of it for 15c. . . . A great many went to Hd. Qrs. after protection papers. . . . Pedlar in camp with cakes, oranges, corn bread. . . .

Oct. 13th. . . . No one was allowed to leave camp this afternoon, as Genl. [W. J.] Landram had received a letter from someone that guerillas were to attack us. Provost guards took possession of all the

skiffs in the river. . . Chase Dick[inson] and Munn out tonight after some girls they got acquainted with in town.

Oct. 14th. . . . Had a bad diarrhea in the morning. . . Borrowed 5c of Pratt, 5c of Gilmore. Bought some molasses candy of a nigger. . .

Oct. 16. Got a pass and went down town. Played billiards with Gilmore. Got some pies, cakes, and bread. . . Rumors that we are to be attacked in morning. . .

Oct. 17th. Horses harnessed before daylight. Regiments in line of battle, ready for an attack which the Rebels said they was to make, but they did not come. . . Musquitoes awful thick in the evening. . .

Oct. 18th, Sunday. . . . Went to church meeting held in one of the churches in Franklin. 19th Ky. chaplain preached. Had a very, very, good sermon. Some of the citizens were at church. Olcott was ordered by Col. Landram to be tied up and have nothing but bread and water for 5 days for writing passes and chging a nigger \$1.00 apiece in gold for them. Heard that our advance was to Opalousas on the 16th.

Oct. 19. . . . Got a pass and went to town.. Stayed there all forenoon. Beat T—— at billiards. Bought an Arithmetic, .75. Got an *Yankee Nations*, .25, from a boat that had just come up from Brashear, New Orleans papers of the 18, and Cincinatti papers of the 5th. A lot of spades, shovels, pickaxes and other tools were brought here by the last boat. Went down town again in the afternoon again. Musketoos thick as the very Deil. Beat Throop at billiards. Mendsen and Dick fighting about a book.

Oct. 20th. . . . Ground down my mouthpiece. . . Mule in river—"blind." Was going round and round. Give Tracy "Weeping Sad and Lonely" to give to a secesh wench that lives in town. Rode to sutler's and got some segars.

Oct. 21st. . . . Wrote some verses in this book. Studied Arithmetic and read in the Bible. . . Issueing rations to the secesh. Moved with Charley to vacant house down near the Bayou. Bayou covered with some kind of leaves which makes it look like a green lawn. . .

Oct. 24th. Very cloudy and quite cold. Built a new shebang with boards got from an old mill. Col. Landram said nobody was to take any boards, but the boys took all they wanted in spite of him. Went down to the mill to get some nails. Guards arrested me and some others. Was taken to Hd. Qrs. Was told not to take any thing more from the mill. . .

Oct. 25th. . . . Boys went across the river to the wreck of the *Diana* and got some iron and built a furnace in the shebang. . .

Oct. 27th. Found somebody had labelled all the shebangs with black paint. Ours is "Pow Wow." Hold protracted meeting here. Among other names were "Badger's Den," "Mushroom House," "Cruikkeen Lawn," "Niggers for Sale," "Otel de Hinglish," "Hospital," "Gamblers' Retreat," "Celibacy Hole," "Mother Herrick's," "Siamese Twins," "Barber Shop," "Prairie Queen," "Adj. Post," "Iron Clad," and "Venereals' Hall."... Capt. sent word for us to make less noise last night. . . .

Nov. 3rd. . . . Went out on my horse again. Played coming through town. Got everybody out to see what was the row. . . . Played flute with [Henry] Roe in afternoon. Had a sing in the evening. . . .

Nov. 4th. Drilled in the morning. . . . Throop drill master. Drilled principally in the bugle calls. Fooled the boys a good deal on them. . . . Boys went out after cattle. . . .

Nov. 6th. . . . Read abt all day. Finished *Frank Fowleigh*[?]. . . . Joe Barr shot an old horse that had distemper. Col. Landram ordered the niggers to move the body of Old Charley. . . .

Nov. 9th. 1st Division passed through town in morning. Got our 4 new guns into camp. Worked all day getting the harnesses together and arranging the new guns. . . . Turned two of the old guns. . . . Had a shebang full in the evening. Gobble Gobble family had a sing. . . .

Nov. 10th. Clothing came; drew 2 pr. socks. . . . Mended my jacket and some other things in afternoon. Put on another shirt; thought I would freeze. Stopped up our shebang with moss.

Nov. 11. . . . Put some hay on my bunk. Got my horse shod. . . .

Nov. 13. . . . Went down town in evening. Went to Evans' and played flute with Parker. A big scare. Infantry drawn up behind our guns until after 11 o'clock P.M. . . .

Nov. 14. . . . Left and centre section ordered to Iberia. . . . Dyer, Parker, and myself called at Allen's and had some music. Quite a number of young ladies there. Among the rest a little girl that delights to turn up her nose at the Union soldiers.

Nov. 15. . . . Boat came in night. Left section loaded on and got off at 8 o'clock. . . . Boys drew lots to see who would go with the section. . . . [Jos.] Day, Pratt, Kret [?], Cozzens, and Allen went up 10 miles on the *Starlight* to get a barge loaded with sugar. . . . Capt. and [Wm.] Brown went to see Madam Porter.

Nov. 16. . . . Maj. Nickols payed the battery for the months of Sept. and Oct. Clothing a/c was settled. My a/c was overdrawn \$17.45. Allotment was taken out, and the result is that I did not get a red. Boys on a tight in afternoon. . . . Sherman de-

serted us at Ark. Post. Got drafted in New York and concluded to come back. . . .

Nov. 19th. . . . Centre section ordered to Iberia. . . . Had a great time in evening slapping each other with sticks. . . .

Nov. 20th. All the niggers conscripted to work on fortifications which were commenced today. . . . Shebang full of boys playing poker. . . .

Nov. 22nd, Sunday. Put on some clean clothes. . . . Read all forenoon. Afternoon took a walk. Sat on a fence about 2 hours; saw all the style there is in Franklin. Word received that the telegraph wire both above and below were cut. An attack expected in evening. A cavalry force came in. They were sent from Iberia to repair the wires. Found them cut in three places. . . . Went to prayer meeting that was held in Mr. Dyer's shebang. Read until quite late in the evening. Boys outside having a great time. Evening bright and clear as day. . . .

Nov. 24th. . . . A very heavy rain filled our shebang stove full and covered our floor all over. . . . Read all forenoon in *Recreations of a Country Parson*. Boys playing cribbage at the table. . . .

Nov. 25. . . . Drilled in forenoon. Coming through town on double quick, caison came off the pintle hook. Boys and carriages all in a heap. No one hurt. . . . Sowed my pants. . . . Mended my shirts.

Nov. 26th. Thanksgiving. Got 2 shoes put on to my horse. Got my bridle fixed and done a big day's work generally. Had a big dinner: chickens, ducks, oyster stuffing, bread pudding. After dinner went to Allen's and had some music. . . . [Lieut.] Cone got a letter in regard to the boys going by the guard on their way to water. Day was beautiful. Played 48 games of 7 up with Charley Cozzens. This morning the ground was covered with a heavy frost. . . .

Nov. 28th. Something I ate give me gas all night. . . . Sick all day. . . .

Nov. 29th. . . . Seven weeks today since we came into this camp.

Nov. 30th. Drilled in the morning. . . . Dyer and myself went in afternoon to Allen's. Had a little music. . . . Put a new Dooden-snapper in our shebang; translation—"stove." . . .

Dec. 1. . . . No drill in consequence of building a barn. . . . Played cribbage in afternoon. Had a slight attack of "Diar." Spent my last 5 cents today. Flat broke again.

Dec. 2. . . . Took a dose of salts in morning. Afternoon went

riding with Prior down town. Evening sowed up my pants and read *Recreations* a while; also a little arithmetic. . . .

Dec. 5th. . . . News of great victory over Bragg [Chattanooga]. . . . Played cards in afternoon. . . .

Dec. 6th. . . . Had to get up 3 times last night to drive away cows from our shebang. . . . Went to church. Wrote a letter to Jennie. Somebody set fire to the old mill and burnt it up.

[Back to New Orleans]

Dec. 10th. . . . Packed up and left Franklin. . . . Marched 20 miles. . . . Got supper and went to bed at 6 o'clock, completely tucked out. . . .

Dec. 12th. . . . Got a pass to go to Brashear. . . . Got out into the Bay. A squall came up; got wet to the skin. Bot some bread, oranges, and other things. Billy Munn asked the Master of Transportation to go over in the steamer that was taking troops across. Got arrested. Had to get Col. Landram to release him. . . .

Sunday, Dec. 13. Hitched up and went to the landing at 8 o'clock a. m. *La. Belle* took 20 of our horses across. A heavy wind came up and no boats could get across the Bay again. Laid on the bank all day. About 5 o'clock P.M. the *Starlight* came across and we loaded on to her and came over. Got the last of the B. over at 12 o'clock in the night. Slept with Parker under the gun. . . .

Dec. 14. . . . Slept splendid under the gun. Got some buckwheat cakes at an eating house and coffee for breakfast, oysters on half shell for dinner. . . .

Dec. 15th. Ordered to load on cars [for Algiers] at 7 o'clock. Not cars enough to load the battery. We had to lay around all day. Day splendid. Was to leave on the 1 o'clock train but did not get off[f]. Rode through the camps and fort. Nigger troupe performed here last night. Another tonight. . . .

Dec. 16. Loaded the battery last night and slept in the depot. Went to hear Tom Baker Minstrels. . . . Arrived at Algiers about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Unloaded and went into camp just below the town on the banks of the Miss. . . . Dug a ditch around the tent in the rain. . . . "Old Splendid" went to bed with Munn, wet and tired. . . .

Dec. 18. . . . Boys all in New Orleans on a tight. Delaney and Graham had a fight. Delaney got whipped bad. Squad 1 all drunk. . . .

Dec. 23rd. . . . Moved across the river [to New Orleans] in afternoon and camped at the Pelican Cotton Press, corner of St.

Mary and Religious Strs. Boys down town on a tight. Slept under cotton shed.

Dec. 24th. ... Loading on the boat all day. ... Slept on the guards of the steamer.

Dec. 25 Christmas. Went to German Catholic Church in morning at 4 o'clock. Dyer and Parker went with me. Very imposing ceremonies. Got breakfast at market. ...

Dec. 26th. Morning taken up in loading horses. ... Our boat lays at the stern of the *Sir William Peel*, a blockade runner captured 4 months since. Left New Orleans about 1 o'clock. A number of war vessels in the harbor. Maj. Genl. Herron and staff on board. Mail came just as we was leaving the dock.

[New Orleans to Matagorda Bay, Texas]

Dec. 27th. Laid at the mouth of the Miss. River all night. Went through the Southwest Pass and got to sea abt 10 o'clock. Very heavy sea. Raining and blowing very hard. Boys all sea sick. Was sick myself all day. Doggett [battery dog] first on board to get sick. Horses could not keep their ft.

Dec. 28th. Very heavy sea all night. Boat pitched bad. Day splendid and quite cool. Waves went down and it was smooth as glass all day. Evening was spent in singing for the Genl. amusement. No land in sight all day. Passed 3 steamers.

Dec. 29th. 16 months today in Uncle Sam's service. Day rather rough. Waves made the boat roll and pitch bad. ... Got over the bar at 4 o'clock. Landed on the mainland [off Matagorda Bay, Texas]. Got our horses off about 9 o'clock p.m. Raining very hard.

Dec. 30th. The boys working all night to get the boat unloaded. Today the weather is very stormy. Slept in the boat. Unloaded in a storm. Went into camp about half a mile from the landing. Got our shebangs up at night. Nothing but a sandy desert all around.

Dec. 31st. A regular norwester came up about 11 o'clock. Blew down shebangs, tents, and made itself familiar generally. ... Sand flying so hard sand in everything; mouth, eyes, vituals full of it. ...

Jany. 1st, 1864. ... Spent the day in writing and trying to keep warm. Boys got some whiskey somewhere and some got tight. ...

Jany. 5th. ... Was working all day fortifying our fire against the wind. ... Some of the sqds out of hard tack. Regiments have not had anything to eat in two days.

Jany. 6th. Day cold, windy, and cloudy. Sand flying in all directions. Out of coffee. Boat came over the bar with rations

today. Lay in bed most of the day to keep warm. . . . Genl. [T. E. G.] Ransom took command of the 4 Division today. . . .

Jany. 7th. Sun shining very bright today. . . . Laid in bed all day to keep warm. Read letter in *Journal* from B. F. Taylor on the Mission Ridge fight.

Jany. 8th. . . . Boys on detail brot in some sheep. A large drove of sheep went through the camp today. Man buried today that was frozen to death last night on picket, from 23 Wisconsin. Genl. Landram confiscated a lot of sutlers' stores and divided them among the troop. Got some tobacco and candy for my share. Spent the day in writing and reading. . . .

Jany. 11. Day cold and rain. Went down to the sea shore and picked up shells. Sent 2 threads of sea grass and a star fish home in an envelope. . . .

Jany. 19th. Detail went for oysters on the Point about 18 miles. Got a wagon load. Day clear and warm. Volunteered to go on the expedition that is to start tomorrow.

Jany. 20th. 1st Brigade, 1 gun of our battery, and 40 mounted men, of which I was one of them, started on a reconissance up the Point. Camped 14 miles up the peninsula. . . .

Jany. 21. Off by daylight. Had a hard ride until 12 o'clock, when we stopped to wind our horses and let them graze. Can see Metagorda from where we stopped. Went into camp 35 miles from the Point. . . . Could not get any water to make coffee at night.

Jany. 22nd. Was on picket last night. About 12 o'clock Lieut. came up and 10 of us went with him in the 13 Maine Regiment that had been landed above us on the beach. Marched at the double quick all forenoon. The advance guard got after some Rebels. Captured 2 of their horses and saddles, and got a shot at some other Rebs. . . . Went to within 4 miles of their fortifications. Gun boat went up and threw 3 shells into their camp. Was ordered to take back track. . . .

Jany. 29. 17 months since I came into the army. Boys in the shebang got a box by the *Alabama*. . . . 2 Rebs came into the lines. Nothing but hard tack and coffee to eat. . . .

Jany. 31st. . . . Studied arithmetic and read all day. Bot some butter, pencil, and 1 cake of soap from sutler. Order to move to Indianola [Tex.] tomorrow. Homesick as the old boy all day.

Feb. 1st, Monday. Day warm. Orders to pack up in morning to go to Indianola. Ordered to take feed boxes and everything we could carry. Got all prepared to leave. Stayed so all day. Ordered in evening to stay where we were until further orders.

Feby. 11th. Day cool and pleasant. Played ball. Went down to the Gulf with Mendsen in afternoon and took a bath. . . .

Feby. 16. The first meeting of the C. M. B. Sons of Mars took place last night. Mendsen, Grand Chaplain; Hudson, Grand Mogul, etc. The society is gotten up for the purpose of showing the new recruits a *new snap*. . . . In afternoon boys all off a-fishing. Laid awake most all night; could not go to sleep. Don't know what was the matter. Boys had good luck fishing; got 6 whoppers. . . .

Feby. 22nd. . . . 1 year ago today we fired a salute at Young's Point, La., in honor of Washington's birthday. . . .

Feby. 25th. Played a match game of ball in morning. At noon orders to pack up. Loaded on to the *Clinton* in afternoon. Got a bunk on the hurricane deck. . . .

[Texas to Berwick, La.]

Feby. 26th. Loading battery all night. Did not get any sleep. Got away from the point at 8 o'clock. . . . After we got the battery loaded, had to shift cargo from front to back hole. . . .

Feby. 27th. Slept on a coil of rope. Never rested better in my life. . . . Sea smooth as glass. Bought 25c worth of ginger snaps of boy. . . . Came in sight of the lighthouse off Berwick Bay at 3 o'clock. . . . Slept in afternoon and played euchre. . . . Tried to get over the bar into B. Bay twice, but at dark had not accomplished it. Wrote a page and a half to a letter to mother. Read a page or two in *Country Parson*. Boat anchored off the Bay. . . .

Feby. 28th, Sunday. Weighed anchor at daylight. Had to get up, bed being in the way of the capstan. . . . Landed at Brashear Dock at 12 o'clock. . . . Laid at the dock some time and then crossed over to Berwick. Trees in full bloom. . . . Mail came while we were on the boat. . . . Papers from mother containing 6 cookies, 8 ginger snaps, and 12 cigars. . . . Also package of tea, vest, silk hdk, scarf, cigars, tobacco. . . . Had a happy evening. All the boys very merry over the things they received from loved ones at home. . . .

March 2nd. Day bright, clear and cool. In morning got a pass and went to Brashear. . . . Bought oranges, 25c; pocin nuts, 10c; tea pot to replace one I lost for Bryant, 75c; beer, 20c; lozenges, 10c. Got a plate of cookies at eating house. . . . Played a game of ball. . . .

March 3rd. . . . Took a walk in evening around the fort and saw the 15th La. nigger regiment at dress parade. Nothing to eat but crackers and coffee without sugar. . . .

Mch. 4th. ... In evening called with Dyer on Mr. Watkins. Several Captains and Lieuts. of Nigs there. Music all the evening. After we left there passed a pleasant hour at the quarters of Capt. Ridgely. Came home rather how come you so.

March 5th. ... Called on Capt. Rigely in morning and took a glass of Morning Call... Spent 15c for raisons and nuts. Had headache all day.

Mch. 10th. ... Did not get to bed until 2 o'clock this morning in consequence of being on a bum with the nigger officers. 3rd and 5th Engineers (colored) left this morning for Franklin [La.]. Got 2 tables, desk, bunks, and things generally... Was half sick all day.

Mch. 11th. Day cool and beautiful. Had a mighty good breakfast: fresh beef, onions, potatoes, coffee, and hard tack... Played cards all evening...

[Berwick to Sabine Cross Roads, La.]

Mch. 13th. ... Orders to march in the morning. Report to Genl. Ransom...

Mch. 14th. ... Arrived at Franklin at 4 o'clock p.m.... Mr. Dyer and myself called on Mr. Smith and the Misses Allen. Spent quite a pleasant evening. Place changed very much, fences gone and houses torn down. A large number of troops quartered in the town.

Mch. 16th. ... Went into camp for the night... about 3 miles north of Generette. Boat went by with Zouave Regiment. Boys were foraging across the Bayou. Guards would not let them bring the sheep across. Some of them swam across after dark and brought them over. Horse got mired and threw me off...

Mch. 17th. ... Passed through New Iberia about 12 o'clock... Bought some butter at New Iberia. Strict orders against foraging. Got into camp at 2 o'clock, making 12 miles. Splendid day for marching, though roads dusty...

Mch. 22nd. ... Got to marching at 7. Roads muddy. Horse stepped on my bugle and smashed it... Bayou Boeuf comes into the Cortableau a short distance above Washington [La.]. Went into camp in a plowed field at 4 o'clock. Marched 18 miles... Barn burned. Evening very pleasant. Chickens for supper.

Mch. 23rd. ... March at 5:30. Road lay along Bayou Boeuf. Day very pleasant. Roads rather muddy. To prevent foraging had roll call at every rest... Camped in a plowed field as usual. Played

cribbage in the evening. Went to bed at 9 o'clock. Forgot to blow taps.

Mch. 25th. ... Walked the skin off my feet. Went into camp at 2 o'clock, 6 miles from Alexandria. Marched about 14 miles. 6 of the boys have their pay stopped until tried by a court martial for being absent from roll call. The burning of the cotton gin 3 days ago has to be paid for by the 67th Ind. and 23rd Wis. Regiments....

Mch. 26th. ... Passed through Alexandria with colors flying. Went into camp 6 miles from the town of Bayou Rapides, which enters the Red River at Alexandria. Day was beautiful. A large number of gun boats at the landing; also transports....

Mch. 27th. ... Paymaster came around and paid us off for 4 months. Got 52 dollars. Put a patch on the knee of my breeches—a damn poor job....

April 1st. ... Marched 17 miles. Camped within 4 miles of Natchitoches. Rumor that the Rebs are going to make a stand a short distance beyond the town. Saw a lot of cotton they had burned to keep it from falling into our hands....

April 2nd. Reveille at 4:30. Marched to the town of Natchitoches and camped on the outside of the town. Got into camp at 10 o'clock. March 4 miles. Day clear and cool. 3 men outside the pickets were foraging. Some citizens caught them, shot one of them, knocked the other down with the butt of musket, the 3rd got away. Played cribbage. Read all day....

April 3rd, Sunday. ... Went to town in afternoon. Bought some papers. Town is about the size of Franklin, built on one street.... Orders read at roll call in regard to the shooting of the men who were out foraging. Everything on the plantation is to be laid waste. Some ruin.

April 4th. ... A. J. Smith, our old Division commander, came into camp. Co. up in line, give him three cheers and a tiger. A lot of other generals with him....

April 6th. Marched at 8 o'clock. Day warm and dusty. Made 15 miles and camped in the woods. Road lay through the woods all day. Country hilly. [Gen. W. B.] Franklin and staff passed in afternoon.

April 7th. Reveille at 4. Marched to Pleasant Hill, a small town 35 miles from Natchitoches. Made 20 miles today. Cloudy and rainy all day. Got to camp at 2 o'clock. 19th Corps passed through and camped in front of us. Cavalry had a fight. 80 of their wounded at a house here. 2 companies of the 87th Ill. Cavalry captured. Our cavalry finally compelled them to fall back. A New York Regt. of Cavalry said to have run. Evening very rainy.

April 8th. Left Pleasant at 5:30. Our Brigade left at 4. Engaged the Rebels at 2 p.m. The whole division driven back with loss of the Mercantile and 1st Indiana Batteries, the 2nd Mass., and 2 mountain howitzers belonging to the cavalry; also Bat. G, 1st Regulars. The whole of the cavalry division train also captured. Boys lost their knapsacks and everything on the caisons and guns. Geo. Throop, 1st Lieut., supposed to be mortally wounded and a prisoner. Capt. White, Lieuts. Cone and Barr also prisoners. Billy Munn and Geo. Bryant and Dyer and others supposed to be prisoners.

April 9th. Slept in the woods by the road with Chase Dick[inson] about 1 mile from the front of line of battle of the 19th Corps. Did not wake until 4 a.m. Found our army had fell back during the night to Pleasant Hill, and we was some 3 miles behind our rear guard. Saddled up and travelled for the army as fast as possible. Got into the lines just as the Rebs' cavalry commenced skirmishing with our pickets. Got a good breakfast at the 1st Vermont Battery. The remains of the 13th Army Corps ordered back to the station on Red River—Grand Écore—4 miles from Natchitoches. On the retreat all day....

[Retreat to New Orleans]

April 10th, Sunday. Got to Grand Écore at 12 o'clock. Day warm and pleasant. Got something to eat from the nigger regiment....

Monday, April 11th. Day warm and pleasant. Moved from the town to the fleet under cover of the gun boats. All the army came in in the evening. Nothing to cook; in short rations, and no tents. Heavy firing by the gun boats up the river.

Tuesday, April 13th [12th]. ... It appears that our transports that have gone up the river cannot get back again on account of the Rebels having a battery planted below them. A large force of infantry has gone up on both sides of the river to help them out. The firing heard yesterday was our gun boats shelling these Rebs. Our army lay on their arms all day expecting an attack, the Rebels having driven the cavalry pickets in. ... Our army took about 400 prisoners on the 9th. Our Division has lost 1200 men and 10 pcs of artillery besides all of their knapsacks and blankets. Genl. Ransom wounded through the knee. Col. [L. R.] Webb of the 77th Ill. killed. Capt. [W. H.] Dickey on Genl. Ransom's staff also killed. One of our fleet came down from above, having run the blockade.

Wednesday, April 14th [13th]. ... 7 boats or transports came down from the fleet above. Report the rest as all safe. The Rebels

charged one of the boats 3 times, headed by Genl. [Thomas] Green. It is said he was killed, his head blown from his body by our artillery on board the boat. . . . All of the fleet came down today. Troops came back from the expedition, bringing in 150 of the Rebs' wounded.

April 16 [15]. . . . Gov. of Missoura [H. R. Gamble] and Genls. Smith and Mowry [J. A. Mower] reviewed two regiments of Missoura troops. . . . An order read dishonorably dismissing 1 major, 1 adjutant, and 2 lieuts. of a Penn. regiment [47th] for cowardice. . . .

[April] 19th. . . . Orders for the Battery to report to New Orleans, to Genl. Reynolds, commander of the defences, for duty. . . .

[April] 20th. . . . Went on board the *Wm. L. Ewing* at 10 o'clock. All the troops in motion. A lot of wounded and sick men on board. Read an a/c of our battles in *The Era*.

[April] 21st. Boat left Grand Ecore at 6 o'clock p.m. A lot of sick and wounded on her, with but one surgeon. He has no medicines. The boat has no rations for them. One man died in the night from *starvation*. Our boys offering their services as nurses, making tea and coffee for them from our own rations. A lot of C. S. burned. A lot of niggers on the shore that they would not let on the boats. Night beautiful.

[April] 22nd. Boat ran all night. In the middle of the night the *Str. Hastings* broke her rudder. Our boat took her in tow. This afternoon she run on a snag and sank in 7 feet water. She is loaded with forage. When we left her, they were unloading her and preparing to set her on fire. . . .

[April] 23rd. Rebs fired a shot at us last night. Boat landed about 2 miles above Alexandria, just above rapids. Boys ordered to get off boat. Got over the rapids in evening. Boys buried 3 men off of the boat. Played billiards in afternoon; got beat. . . . Boat lay at Alexandria in evening. 3 killed and 17 wounded on the *Superior*, near the mouth of Red River by Guerillas.

[April] 24th. . . . Ordered on board the *Kate Dale*. She was captured by our men from the Rebs, being built for a blockade runner. Unloaded from the *Ewing* and loaded on the *Dale*. Left Alexandria at noon. Boat ran into the river bank twice and broke both paddle wheels. . . . Passed Fort De Russey at sunset. River very crooked. Our boys worked the two guns on board, shelling the woods all the way down. . . .

[April] 25th. Last night after passing the Fort about 4 miles, run into bank and broke the wheel. We could not get along. Lay

there all night. Got the wheel patched up and started for the Miss. at 11 o'clock. Passed gunboat 27 and 50. Got to mouth of Black River at 4 o'clock. Flagship *Black Hawk* lay there. Got into the Miss. at sunset. A number of gunboats lay here, among them the *Choctaw* and *LaFayette*. . . .

[April] 26th. . . . Landed at New Orleans at 1 o'clock. All ordered to the Press. No one can get in or out without a pass. It is a very good place. Bunks, baths, and outhouses in abundance. . . .

[At Camp Parapet, New Orleans]

May 7th. . . . Brown drew a lot of muskets for the Company. Boys don't like it a bit. . . .

May 8th, Sunday. . . . Laid abed all day; nothing else to do. Got my boots fixed. Cost me a dollar. . . .

May 11th. . . . Played cribbage in afternoon. News in camp of a great battle [Spotsylvania] in Virginia. Grant in the fortifications of Richmond. . . .

May 15th, Sunday. . . . Orders in evening for a detail of 23 men to report tomorrow to go on picket, and 23 men for guard, and 25 men for fatigue on Tuesday, and 20 on every alternate day. A meeting of the Company was called and a petition was drawn up and signed by all of the Company, that "while we were ready to do all that the Regulations required artillerymen to perform, we objected to taking infantry equipments and doing infantry duty."

May 16. . . . Lieut. Roe made out the detail. All refused to go on duty. He then took the petition to Hd. Qrs. Was ordered under arrest immediately. After Dickinson had come from town, where he had been to consult with officers, a meeting was called again, and it was resolved to *retract* all that had been said and done. The muskets were issued to the Company, and this evening all is *quiet in the front* again. . . .

May 17th. . . . A Company of the 14th N. H. V. arrested all of the non-commissioned officers and Lieut. Roe and confined in the Military Prison at New Orleans. . . . A year ago tonight we slept on the battle ground of Black River Bridge.

May 18th. . . . Boys were put in an awful hard hole full of grey backs through influence of some of the 97th Ills. Officers were allowed a room by themselves. A letter was read to the Company from Merrill Ladd, Sec. of Mercantile Association of Chicago. . . .

May 22nd. Went to New Orleans. Saw the boys and bummed with Parker the rest of the day. . . . Saw woman walk tight rope stretched from top of house to ground. . . .

June 1st. ... In evening some ladies connected with Sanitary Commission came into camp with Colonel Bangs and distributed a basket of towels, hdks., paper, combs, tobacco, and a lot of good gin [?] amongst the boys. Gave them 3 cheers when they left. ...

June 8th. A new order read at roll call ordering out the whole Company for work on fortifications. ... Read the whole play of *Romeo and Juliet* today. ... Nothing for supper but coffee without sugar and milk, and dry bread. Darned hard to see any beauties in a soldier's life on such food. ...

June 17th. ... Hank Roe's court martial comes off today. ...

[*June*] *21st.* Boys were released from durance vile today. ...

[*June 25*]. ... Col. ordered the whole guard to turn out to salute him. In doing so knocked the stack of muskets down. Col. said they need not salute him any more. ... Read in *Nickolas Knickleby* all the afternoon. ...

[The missing volume 3 of the diary contains entries from July 1, 1864, to December 31, 1864.]

January 1st, 1865. The year opens cold and clear; finds me on board of the Steamer *Belvidere* (a blockade runner formally [*sic*], but captured off the coast of Wilmington with 500 bales of cotton some 2 years ago), in Pascagoula Bay [Miss.]. The Battery was ordered on board night before last. The lighter made one trip taking the carriages only, the horses remaining ashore. This morning the horses were brought out about 3 o'clock. Got them loaded and weighed anchor at 6. Passed Ship Island within 40 rods at 8 o'clock a.m. Made the Southwest Pass at 4 o'clock. Made a splendid run, the Gulf being as smooth as glass. Out of sight of land about 2 hours.

Jany. 2nd. Ran up the Miss. all night. Landed at the dock, foot of Jackson Street, at 9 o'clk a.m. Got the Battery unloaded and put together at 2 o'clk p.m. Went into camp at Greenville at 5 o'clk p.m. and have a house to sleep in. ...

Jany. 3rd. ... When I got back to the camp found that Genl. Davis has taken the house for his Hd. Qrs. and shoved us out in the cold. ...

Jany. 4th. ... Have been to the Varieties Theatre [New Orleans] tonight. ... The plays were "Dot" or "The Cricket on the Hearth" and "Pocahontas". ...

Jany. 7th. ... Went to S. B. Howes and Co. Circus in New Orleans. ...

Jan. 10th. ... Went to St. Charles Theatre in the evening. Lucie de Anville [?] and phenomenon in a Smock Frock. ...

[New Orleans to Baton Rouge]

Jan. 11. ... Marching orders. Moved on to the levee in the afternoon. Got tight on bad whiskey. ...

Jan. 12. Boat *N. M. Thomas* came up this morning at 1 o'clock. Loaded on and got started at 5. Reached Bonne Caere [?] at 10. Arrived at Donelsonville at dusk. Left a barge we had in tow and put off some stores. This town is 65 miles from Orleans. Bayou La Fourche empties into the Miss. at this point. Quite a large fort is erected on the north side of the Bayou at its mouth. The town is on the west side of the Miss. River.

Jan. 13th. Landed at Baton Rouge at 5 o'clock. ... Went into camp in the south part of town. ...

Jan. 18th. Inspection by a major. Condemned 18 horses. ... Rehearsal for a nigger show in evening.

Jan. 24th. I find I have been rather slack in keeping up my diary. ... We have been and are now getting up a nigger show. I am musical director. Joseph Hennig [?], a violinist of this place, is leader. John, a violin celloist, also of this place, is also engaged with us. The troupe is composed of Brownell: tamborine; Stees: banjo; Roe: guitar and jig-dancer; Kellerman: guitar and ballad singer; Tanner: violin second; Sampson: middle man; Mendsen: tenor and triangle; Nash: basso; and Cutting: end man and Bones. Amick, treasurer. We have had quite a number of rehearsals, and the thing goes off pretty well. ...

Jan. 31. ... Last Saturday night played for a French dance. Got 3.00 for it. ... The first performance of the show came off tonight, to a crowded house. After paying all expenses—\$25 for the hall, \$55.00 that we had borrowed, and incidental expense to the amount of \$10, we have \$50.00 to divide, a decided success.

Feb. 6th. ... I commenced giving a young fellow lessons on the flute. ... Give him three a week. ...

Feb. 23rd. ... Monday evening, the 20th, we were invited to serenade Genl. Herron. He expressed himself highly pleased with the music. Genl. A. J. Smith's troops have passed down the river, some 5,000, 60 boat loads. Herron has ordered that no soldier shall be out of camp after 8 o'clock p.m. ...

Mch. 5th. On the morning of the first an expedition left this place, consisting of about 2,000 cavalry with two mountain howitzers.

They took a road leading to Clinton. I played on the evening of the first at Beale's Varieties. Got \$2.00 for it. . . . The column is 22 miles from here and 9 miles from Clinton. Our pickets were confronting the Rebs today. . . .

March 31. Days have passed as usual, slow and tedious. An epidemic has seized on the horses. 2 have died; 3 or four a day take the disease. It is a spasm or fit. They commence to back when they fall down, and if something is not done for them they die. On the 24th I made an application for a furlough. . . .

Apr. 3rd. . . . Furlough came back to Company today, approved.

Apr. 4th. . . . Left Baton Rouge at 8½ o'clock on the *Sultana*. . . .

April 5th. Run all night. Got into Vicksburg at 10 o'clock.

April 6th. . . . Passed the mouth of White River at 1 o'clock p.m. Ran all night, making good time. The town of Napoleon at the mouth of White River under water 6 feet. I saw a number of people in the buildings. How they live there is a mystery to me. . . .

April 8th. Arrived at Cairo at 12 o'clock. Found the train for Chicago had just left. Will have to lay over until tomorrow. . . . Went to Cairo Theatre in evening. Played the "Little Devil" and "Ireland As It Is". . . .

[No Entry until May 8th]

May 8th. [Chicago] Have been home since the 10th of last month on furlough. Have had a good time. Been to all sorts of amusements including opera twice. Have seen a great many people. . . . Since I have been home there had been a great deal of rejoicing and a great deal of sorrowing, Lee's surrender, the fall of Richmond, and the assassination of President Lincoln. The funeral of the President took place the 1st and 2nd of this month. Saw the President on the 2nd. . . . Tonight I have my things all ready for leaving when the baggage wagon comes. . . .

Sunday, May 14th. Got into Baton Rouge at 7 o'clock. . . . The Battery had gone to New Orleans, so I put my traps on board again and started for New Orleans.

May 15th. . . . Got to New Orleans at 7 o'clock. Found the Battery camped at the Apollo Stables, corner 8th and St. Charles. Boys glad to see me. Got them all tight. . . .

Sunday, May 28th. A day to be remembered. The men who were taken prisoners at the Battle of Mansfield, the 8th of April, 1864, came back today, exchanged. . . .

Sunday, June 11. . . . Thursday noon was to [be] mustered out. Thursday afternoon at two o'clock—nigger in the fence. Muster us out at noon Friday. Another nigger in the fence. Be mustered out Monday morning. Am very much afraid we will not be out of service before our time is out, no how. . . .

Wednesday, June 14. Was to have been mustered out today, but instead of that we are now likely to go to Texas, as no more soldiers are to be discharged until further orders from the War Department. Feel better now I know what we are going to do. . . .

June 22. . . . Got orders to turn over Company property, and go to Chicago to be mustered out of service, which is very good news and relieves my mind vastly. . . .

June 24. . . . Went to the Morningstar Minstrels in the evening. Damn poor show. All of the performers drunk.

June 25, Sunday. . . . Orders to pack up and leave. . . . Went on board *Brilliant* at 5 o'clock. Billy Munroe [?] left behind; passed him standing on the bank of the river at Carrollton with his girl. . . .